





*Thakkar Vassanji Madhavji*  
*Lectures Series*

# THE EARLY ARYANS IN GUJARĀTA

BY  
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## PREFACE

It has given me great pleasure to have completed an effort which I have pursued in leisure hours during the last seventeen years. Mr. PARGITER'S *The Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* had not then been published though his earlier writings proved that valuable data lay concealed in Vedic, Purāṇic and Epic literature of India. It was in 1922 that I was attracted to the *Purāṇas* and sought the basis of historic events in the traditions preserved by them. As a result, I prepared an article in Gujarati on the land-marks of ancient Indian history and another in English on Māhīṣmatī. The first was published in a Gujarati magazine *Samālocak* and the second in the November 1922 number of the *Indian Antiquary*.

Other preoccupations prevented me from pursuing this fascinating subject till 1932, when studying the Vedic literature I came to the conclusion that Mr. PARGITER'S approach towards the testimony of the *Purāṇas* was not correct, as pointed out by me in these lectures. His efforts, however, required to be followed up by similar attempts in the light of new materials and



with the aid of more scientific canons of testing the credibility of evidence. That conviction alone has led me to enter a field in which I am no more than an amateur.

Many personal factors have made it impossible for me to pursue this subject exhaustively, but circumstanced as I am, I must rest content with only putting forward tentative conclusions before those who are qualified to pursue the study.

After these lectures were prepared I read Dr. SUKTHANKAR'S article headed "Epic Studies ; VI. The Bhṛgu and the Bhārata" in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* for October, 1936. I am glad to find that though our conclusions on this point are exactly contrary I have been to some extent strengthened by the volume of material collected by the learned Doctor. After an exhaustive survey of all references he comes to the conclusion that *Mahābhārata* is a Bhṛgu epic and that therefore a background of Bhṛgu exploits and traditions has been introduced into the history of the Pāṇḍavas. He however holds the story of the Pāṇḍavas as historic and the Bhārgava episodes the result of associations connected with the authors. The conclusions that I have come to are that the romance of the Pāṇḍavas in its present form in absence of further corroboration is more likely to be historically unreliable, while the Bhṛgu episodes have been borrowed from traditions which then were recent. But it is highly satisfactory to be corroborated by so eminent and learned a scholar that the central story and the Bhārgava background are two distinct things which if properly analysed might yield valuable results.

I am glād that these lectures form part of the series of Thakkar Vassanji Madhavji Lectures which I had helped to found in the University of Bombay. I must also record my obligation to Mr. A. D. PUSALKER, M.A., LL.B., Professor in the Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan for checking references and bringing up the notes to the requisite standard of accuracy and fulness.

December 24, 1939.

K. M. MUNSHI



# THE EARLY ARYANS IN GUJARĀTA

## LECTURE I.

### THE PROBLEM AND THE CONDITIONS OF INVESTIGATION

Gujarāta at the dawn of history—Available evidence—Value of tradition as historical source—PARGITER'S efforts—Vedic corrective and its weakness—Historical outposts—*Dāśarājña* the first historical event—Synchronisms examined. The inaccuracy of *Purāṇic* tradition.

“Gujarāta can have no existence apart from India. . . . . Gujarāta, again, can have no meaning and no future except as an expression of Indian culture.”<sup>1</sup> Thus, some years ago, I described modern Gujarāta ; to-day I propose to examine a few of the extant relics of the past to explain this phenomenon of the present.

When I try to look for Gujarāta in the dimness of early antiquity, I see only a marshy sea-board tract stretching between Mount Abu in the north and the Bassein creek in the south. It is made of rich alluvial soil deposited by the rivers Tapi, Narmada, Mahi, and

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1. *Gujarāta and Its Literature*, p. 378.

Sabaramati. Yet another shallow but expansive river came from the north and possibly met the sea passing through what is now known as Nalakantha and cutting off Kathiawar from the mainland ; in monsoon, the southern parts of the tract were submerged in the overflowing waters of this river ; in summer, perhaps, the dry bed of Nalakantha made of the island of Kathiawar, a peninsula. Cutch—or most of it—was yet under the sea.

In this land of marshes and flowing water and overgrown jungles at some very distant date lived the dark-skinned and primitive Nāgas. And the history of its first colonisation by the Aryans is recorded only in the names of Śaryāti the Mānava, Cyavana the Bhṛgu and Ānarta, the eponymous king who gave to north Gujarāta its first Aryan name.<sup>2</sup>

## II.

The evidence relating to this colonisation mainly consists of references and traditions contained in ancient literature and has often been considered inadmissible for historical research. Historians entitled to great respect at one time held that proper history does

AVAILABLE  
EVIDENCE.

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2. *Matsya*, XII. 21-22 ; *Harivamśa*, I.10.31-33.

शर्यातेर्मिथुनं चासीदानर्तो नाम विश्रुतः ॥ ३१ ॥

पुत्रः कन्या सुकन्याख्या या पत्नी च्यवनस्य ह ।

आनर्तस्य तु दायादो रेवो नाम महाद्युतिः ॥ ३२ ॥

आनर्तविषयश्चासीत्पुरी चास्य कुशस्थली ।

रेवस्य दैवतः पुत्रः ककुद्भी नाम धार्मिकः ॥ ३३ ॥

not exist in India for any period before the date of the Piprawa relic (450 B.C.) or rather before Asoka's inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> But the line thus drawn is rather artificial. Inscriptions are sometimes fabricated ; the date of the Piprawa relic itself is being discredited by some authorities ; while folklore, tradition and even mythology often carry within them the germ of historical facts. In India, particularly, the epic and the ritualistic literature contain many traditions, the historical basis of which cannot be ignored. This class of evidence, in view of its nature and authorship can be divided into (a) the Vedic and (b) the Purāṇic.

With these preliminary remarks the evidence may be examined from the points of view of chronology and credibility.

I. The *Mantras* of the *Ṛgveda* are no doubt the oldest literary records. They however contain three varying grades of testimony :

1. References which were traditional even in the Ṛgvedic period. To this class belongs the reference to Manu, Bhṛgu and Yayāti the son of Nahuṣa who is mentioned only once as an ancient sacrificer.<sup>4</sup> They are mere names retained in the racial memory and may be dismissed as unreal.
2. More or less contemporary records like the prayers of Viśvāmitra while crossing the river with the army or the blessings of Vasiṣṭha for Sudās.<sup>5</sup> They are fairly trustworthy and may be relied upon.

3. Cf. Vincent SMITH, *Early History of India*, 4th Edn., p. 17.

4. MACDONELL and KEITH, *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 129, 109, 187.

5. *Rgveda*, III. 33 ; 53.9-11 ; VII. 18.22-25.

## 3. Later interpolations.

II. The next in order of time are parts of *Atharva-veda* containing post-*Rgvedic* references.

III. The records which come next are the *Aitareya* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas*. They can be treated as reliable only to the extent to which they embody contemporary or recent events.

IV. The next in time are the old and persistent traditions, common to all the *Purāṇas*, which were drawn from the original *Purāṇa* or *Purāṇas*.

V. *Purāṇic* tradition and pedigrees, other than those referred to in old and persistent traditions referred to above, which were made up centuries later and revised from time to time.

Every piece of evidence has to be tested from this point of view and labours, however great, cannot yield the correct result if the relative importance which should attach to the credibility of each record, having regard to its date, the source of its knowledge and its freshness, is ignored.

## III

Mr. PARGITER, the author of *The Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*<sup>6</sup> has gone the extreme length and tried to reconstruct history only out of *Purāṇic* sources, among which the *Mahābhārata* naturally holds the principal place. No doubt it contains valuable traditions, but the number of editions which the work has gone through, and the alterations and enlargements which each editor appears to have made, make

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6. London, 1922 ; hereafter abbreviated as *Pargiter*.

sifting of historical facts rather difficult. The *Paurāṇikas* anxious to strengthen their view of things, have been busy for centuries toning down, altering or twisting many particulars which happened to offend their religious zeal or their notion of a well ordered universe. But many of its important historical traditions and genealogies find a place in the early *Purāṇas* like the *Vāyu*, the *Matsya* and the *Harivaṃśa*.<sup>7</sup> These have luckily escaped the treatment meted out to the *Mahābhārata*, for the traditional number of *Purāṇas* being fairly large, it was easier to produce a new *Purāṇa* specially devoted to the favoured theme than to alter or amend an existing one. These common traditions were drawn by the authors of these works from some older work, which Mr. PARGITER believes to have been composed a century after the Bhārata war.<sup>8</sup> I am inclined to the view that the legends, myths and stories collected in the original *Purāṇa*, whether known as *Bhaviṣya*, *Bhaviṣyat* or *Vāyu Purāṇa*, existed long prior to the Bhārata War or rather the reign of Janamejaya Pāriṣita and formed the literature of the people as contrasted with the *Vedic Mantras* and the *Brāhmaṇas* which contained the literature of the learned priestly class. The *Purāṇa* itself must have been the attempt of one or more compilers to shape all the materials into a definite body of tradition with a view to extol the then existing royal houses, to determine

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7. For the *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh.*) and the *Harivaṃśa* (*Hari*) the edition published by the Chitrashala Press, Poona, has been cited; for the *Vāyu* and the *Matsya Purāṇas* the editions are respectively from the Bibliotheca Indica and the Anandāśarma Sanskrit Series.

8. *Pargiter*, pp. 53-54 and 21.



their ancestry, and to fit them in the time 'honoured scheme of Solar and Lunar descent. The very object for which the compilation was made has been the cause of displacing genealogies, interpolating names and considerably impairing their historic value. Names were brought in the same family pedigree or were inserted as father and son, irrespective of the locality where they lived or the period when they flourished.

The *Purāṇic* traditions and genealogies can yield a somewhat reliable record only if the Vedic literature is made to supply the necessary correctives. The names, associations and synchronisms found in the *Mantras* of the *R̥gveda* are very reliable, as they were woven into contemporary records by persons having some direct or indirect but unremote source of knowledge. The *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads* also throw considerable light on the changes which the traditions and genealogies underwent before being incorporated in the *Purāṇas*.

The very able attempt<sup>9</sup> made by Mr. PARGITER to collate the diverse royal genealogies as given in the different *Purāṇas*, and to fix the synchronisms as found therein, has been frustrated on account of the undue importance which he attached to *Purāṇic* materials, which he called Kṣatriya tradition, as contrasted with the Vedic which he called Brahmanical. The assumptions made by him that the *Purāṇas* were not composed by Brāhmaṇas but by Kṣatriyas; that the bard had less temptation to tell an untruth than the religious-minded Brāhmaṇa; that the Brāhmaṇa lacked historical sense while the Kṣatriya did not; are unwarranted

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9. Pargiter, pp. 144 *et seq.*

and fanciful.<sup>10</sup> Had he applied the test of Vedic tradition he would have certainly escaped the errors into which he has fallen. For instance, Mr. PARGITER was inclined to the view that the Solar line as given in the *Purāṇas* has been more accurately preserved than the others ; but, as a matter of fact, if the test of Vedic references is applied, no other genealogical tree given by the *Purāṇas* is more unreliable.<sup>11</sup>

One shortcoming of the early Vedic literature, however, should not be ignored. Most of it was either composed or compiled by Ṛṣis living in or about the Āryāvarta where ran the courses of the holy Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī ; they were the leaders of what GRIERSON<sup>12</sup> would call the Inner Band of Aryans, and they did not know or care to refer to the movements which were going on in distant parts of the land, or to the exploits of tribes of the Outer Band which formed the outpost of Aryan occupation. As we will see later, we find in the *R̥gveda* a reference to the Vītahavyas and Sr̥ñjaya ;<sup>13</sup> but none to the confederacy of

10. *Pargiter*, Chapters I, V ; also p. 61.

11. *Vide, infra* pp. 15ff.

12. *Imp. Gaz. of India* (1907), Vol. I, pp. 357-359.

13. *R̥gveda*, IV. 15.4 ; VI. 15.2,3 ; 27.7 ; VII. 19.3.

अयं यः सुञ्जये पुरो दैववाते समिध्यते ।

युमौ अमित्रदम्भनः ॥ ऋग्वेद. ४.१५.४. ॥

मित्रं न यं सुधितं भृगवो दधुवनस्पतावीड्यमूर्ध्वशोचिषं ।

स त्वं सुप्रीतो वीतहव्ये अद्भुतप्रशस्तिभिर्महयसे दिवेदिवे ॥ ६.१५.२ ॥

स त्वं दक्षस्यावृको वृधो भूर्यः परस्यान्तरस्य तरुषः ।

रायः सूनो सहसो मर्त्येष्वा छर्दिर्यच्छ वीतहव्याय सप्रथो भरद्वाजाय

सप्रथः ॥ ६.१५.३ ॥

(Continued on next page)

tribes, of which the Vītahavyas were a part and which went by the name of the Haihayas and the Tālajaṅghas. We also find reference to Jamadagni, the Bhṛgu sage who was not only connected with Viśvāmitra by blood, but was perhaps his confederate in politics and certainly collaborator in composing hymns;<sup>14</sup> but not a word is mentioned about his father Ṛcika, a great warrior, or about his still greater son Rāma whose martial deeds ultimately earned for him a place in the pantheon as the sixth *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. The obvious explanation is that the cultured sage on the banks of the Sarasvatī looked with contempt on the Aryans who fought and lived and possibly intermarried with the aboriginal Nāgas and Dasyus. With the loftiness common to literary men in all ages they only concerned themselves with the elect who shared with them the atmosphere from which they drew inspiration.

I will now examine the *Purāṇic* tradition by applying the corrective of Vedic references; and in doing so, not only do I propose to cite MACDONELL and KEITH'S *Vedic Index* and *Pargiter* but the original references also. I will also avail myself of the genealogy carefully prepared by Mr. PARGITER from the *Purāṇas*, giving to each

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(Continued from previous page)

यस्य गावावरुषा सूर्यवस्यू अन्तरू षु चरतो रेरिहाणा ।

स सृञ्जयाय तुर्वशं परादाद्वीवतो दैववाताय शिक्षन् ॥ ६.२७.७ ॥

त्वं धृष्णो धृषता वीतहव्यं प्रावो विश्वामिरूतिभिः सुदासं ।

प्र पौरुकुत्सि त्रसदस्युमावः क्षेत्रसाता वृत्रहत्येषु पूरुं ॥ ७.१९.३ ॥

14. *Rgveda*, X. 167.4; *Vedic Index*, I. p. 276.

प्रसूतो भक्षमकरं चरावपि स्तोमं चेमं प्रथमः सूरिरुन्मृजे ।

सुते सातेन यद्यागमं वां प्रति विश्वामित्रजमदग्नी दमे ॥ १०.१६७.४ ॥

name the number given by the author to the generation to which according to his estimate the bearer of the name belonged according to *Purāṇic* genealogy.

#### IV

In order to investigate the problem which I have thus set before me, it is necessary to fix certain definite historical outposts by examining the evidence in the manner indicated by me. What is the first historical event in Indian history as proved by these records? The *R̥gveda* evidence is generally regarded as the first in time ; and the contemporary testimony contained in it is the most reliable. The first historical event as appearing from this evidence is the *Dāśarājña*, the Battle of Ten Kings. Vasiṣṭhas and Viśvāmitras have sung about it in unmistakably first hand passion.<sup>15</sup>

*Dāśarājña* could thus be summarised :

The Tr̥tsus lived on the bank of Paruṣṇī, the modern Ravi ; the Bharatas lived on the banks of Sarasvatī, Dr̥ṣadvatī and the Āpayā. The Yadus and the Turvaśas lived probably lower down. The Anus and the Druhyus probably lived between Sarasvatī and Śatadru. The Pūrus possibly lived on the banks of the upper Indus. Some of them appear to have also been settled on the banks of the Sarasvatī.

Divodāsa was a king of the Tr̥tsus and had a son or grandson styled Sudās. Whether Tr̥tsus were part of Bharatas or not is doubtful ; but there is no doubt

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15. *R̥gveda*, III. 33 ; 53 ; VII. 18.

that one tribe was led by Divodāsa, the other by Viśvāmitra. Divodāsa was a warlike prince, had fought the Yadus and the Turvaśas, and defeated Śambara, the great Dasyu king, demolished his ninety-nine forts and exterminated the Paṇis, the Pārāvatas and the Br̥ṣaya.

Viśvāmitra, the head of the Bharata clan, is the Purohita of Sudās, the son of Divodāsa. He has performed sacrifices for him. "Come forward, Kuśikas," says he to his tribesmen, "and be attentive ; let loose Sudās's horse to win him riches ; east, west and north, let the king slay his foemen, then at earth's choicest place perform his worship."<sup>16</sup>

But Vasiṣṭha, proud of his ancient lineage and purity, is his rival at Sudās's court. He turns the scales, and Viśvāmitra is ousted from his position. In disgust Viśvāmitra and his tribe leave the court. The seer pronounces hymn of hate against Vasiṣṭhas, invoking the aid of Indra for himself and his progeny. He then organises a strong confederacy of ten kings ; the Anus, the Druhyus, the Bharatas, the Yadus, the Turvaśas, the Pūrus, the Śimiyus, the Ajas, the Śigrus and the Yakṣus. It may be remembered in this connection that the Bhṛgu were connected both by blood and alliance with the six first named of these tribes.

The ten kings under the leadership of Viśvāmitra advance from the east but find it difficult to cross the Śatadru and the Vipās in their upper courses. Then the great Viśvāmitra prays to them : "Hear then, sisters, what the poet says : I come to you from far

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16. *R̥gveda*, III. 53.11 :

उप प्रेत कुशिकाश्चेतयध्वमश्वं राये प्र मुञ्चता सुदासः ।

राजा वृत्रं जङ्घनत्प्रागपागुदगथा यजाते वर आ पृथिव्याः ॥

with loaded wagons. Now bend ye low, give me an easy ford : let not your waves touch my axle-tree, O ! Rivers.”<sup>17</sup> The rivers hear the Ṛṣi's prayers. The Bharatas “filled with the ardour of battle” cross the rivers and first secure a victory over the Ṛtsus. But soon the allied kings are driven back by Sudās ; and Viśvāmitra disappears from the stage.

Though the Bhṛgus are not named during this war except in the doubtful case of one Kavi having been killed in battle, they would be expected to be on the side of Viśvāmitra, Bharatas, Yadus, Pūrus, Anus and Druhyus, looking to the close relation with the constituents of the confederacy. There is no doubt that on the other hand were the Śrñjayas closely allied with the Ṛtsus. Divodāsa and a Śrñjaya prince are lauded together ;<sup>18</sup> they had common enemies in Turvaśas, and perhaps had a common priest.<sup>19</sup>

The fortunes of the battle sway to and fro for some time but ultimately the valiant leaders of the confederacy are killed and Sudās comes out triumphant. Vasiṣṭha then sings for him the song of triumph :

“ The evil-disposed and stupid (enemies of Sudās), crossing the humble Paruṣṇī river, have broken down its banks ; but he (Sudās)

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17. *Rgveda*, III. 33.9 :

ओ षु स्वसारः कारवे शृणोत ययो वो दूरादनसा रथेन ।  
नि षू नमध्वं भवता सुपारा अयोअक्षाः सिन्धवः स्रोत्याभिः ॥

18. *Rgveda*, VI. 47.22, 25 .

प्रस्तोक इनु राधसस्त इन्द्र दश कोशयीर्दश वाजिनोऽदात् ।  
दिवोदासादतिथिग्वस्य राधः शाम्बरं वसु प्रत्यग्रभीष्म ॥ २२ ॥  
महि राधो विश्वजन्यं दधानान्भरद्वाजान्सार्जयो अभ्ययष्ट ॥ २५ ॥

19. *Vedic Index*, II, p. 469.

by his greatness pervades the earth, and Kavi, the son of Cāya-māna, like a fallen victim, sleeps (in death).

“The waters flowed their regular course to the Paruṣṇī, nor (wandered) beyond it ; the quick courser (of the king) came to the accessible places, and Indra made the idly-talking enemies, with their numerous progeny, subject among men to Sudās.”<sup>20</sup>

Sudās is thus lauded by the grateful Vasiṣṭha :

“The seven worlds praise (Sudās) as if he were Indra : him whose fame (spreads) through the spacious heaven and earth : who, munificent, has distributed (wealth) on every eminent person, and (for whom) the flowing (rivers) have destroyed Yudhyāmadhi in war.”<sup>21</sup>

King Purukutsa, son of Durgaha, was made prisoner of war and died in captivity.<sup>22</sup> His queen secured his son Trasadasyu to restore the fortunes of the Pūrus. He was a great king equal to Indra, styled Ardhadeva—half a god—invincible in war and subdued the mighty Aryan tribes. The Pūrus allied themselves with Kurus or were the same, for their king Kuruśravaṇa

20. *Rgveda*, VII. 18.8, 9.

दुराध्यो ३ अदितिं स्नेवयन्तोऽचेतसो वि जगृध्रे परुष्णीम् ।  
महाविव्यक्पृथिवीं पत्यमानः पशुष्कविरशयच्चायमानः ॥ ८ ॥  
ईयुरर्थं न न्यर्थं परुष्णीमाशुश्चनेदमिपित्वं जगाम ।  
सुदास इन्द्रः सुतुक्कौ अमित्रानरन्धयन्मानुषे वघ्निवाचः ॥ ९ ॥

21. *Rgveda*, VII. 18.24 :

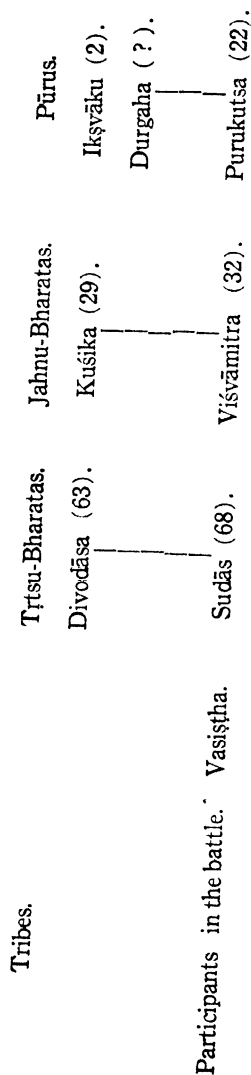
यस्य श्रवो रोदसी अन्तरुर्वी शीर्ष्णेशीर्ष्णे विबभाजा विभक्ता ।  
सप्तेदिन्द्रं न स्रवतो गृणन्ति नि युध्यामधिमशिशदभीके ॥

22. *Vedic Index*, I, p. 542 ; cf. *Rgveda*, IV. 42.8 :

अस्माकमत्र पितरस्त आसन्तसप्त ऋषयो दौर्गहे बध्यमाने ।  
त आयजन्त त्रसदस्युमस्या इन्द्रं न वृत्रतुरमर्धदेवं ॥

claimed descent from the great *Trasadasyu* himself.<sup>23</sup>

The first individual who out of these records stands out as closely interconnected with persons and events which may be termed historical is *Purukutsa*, the descendant of *Ikṣvāku*.<sup>24</sup> As stated above he was vanquished by king *Sudās* the son of *Divodāsa* and in the *Dāśarājña*.



23. *Rgveda*, X. 33 4 :

कुशत्रयणमावृणि राजानं त्रासदस्यवं । मंहिष्ठं वाघतामृषिः ॥

24. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII. 5.4.5 : विश्वजिदतिरात्रस्तेन ह पुरुकुत्सो दौर्गहेज ऐक्षवाको राजा तस्मादेतद्विषणाभ्यनूक्तमस्माकमत्र पितरस्त आसन्तस ऋषयो दौर्गहे बध्यमान इति ॥ cf. *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 75, 121, 542.



This important synchronism given in *Rgvedic* evidence if read with the evidence of the *Brāhmaṇas* opens up many other related synchronisms of great value to us in this inquiry.

Tribes.	Pūrus.	Tṛtsus.	Bharatas-Jahnus	Bhṛigus.	Sṛñjayas.
	Ikṣvāku (2).		Kuśika (29).		
	Durgaha		Gāthin ( ? ) (30).		
		Divodāsa (63).			Vedhas
Vasiṣṭha.	Purukutsa (22).	Sudās (68).	Viśvāmitra (32).	Jamadagni.	Vitahavya (36)
					Hariscandra (33).
					Rohita (34).
Śakti.	Trasadasyu (23).		Sunahṣepa-Devarāta		

The number given in the brackets indicates the generation to which the bearer of the name belongs in the *Purāṇic* genealogy compiled by PARGITER. This genealogy however yields the following result :

## VEDIC PEDIGREE.

1.	Manu	Manu	Manu	Bhṛgu
2.			Ikṣvāku	
6.	Yayāti	Yayāti		
7.	Yadu	Puru		
22.			Purukutsa	
23.			Trasadasyu	
30.	Gādhi		Trayyāruṇa	
31.	Arjuna			
32.	Viśvāmitra		Triśaṅku	Jamadagni
33.			Hariścandra	Rāma
34.			Rohita	
36.	Vitihotra			
63.			Divodāsa	
66.			Sṁjaya	
67.			Cyavana	
68.			Sudāsa	
69.			Sahadeva	
70.			Somaka	
71.		Kuru		

The more reliable Vedic data at once destroy the accuracy of this *Purāṇic* tradition. In the light of these Sudās did not belong to the north Pañcāla line as stated in the *Purāṇas*, nor Hariścandra to Ayodhyā.<sup>25</sup> Pūrus and Ikṣvākus were not separate families but the

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25. Sudās was a Tṛtsu king and Hariścandra an Aikṣvāka. Cf. *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 121, 322 ; II, pp. 454, 499.

same.<sup>26</sup> The Vedic records know no kings between Ikṣvāku and Purukutsa. From the latter (22) to Trayyāruṇa (30) there are only three generations and not six.<sup>27</sup> Triśaṅku was not a king as the *Purāṇas* have it but a sage<sup>28</sup> and may be omitted. Hariścandra the son of Vedhas was not a descendant of Purukutsa, but his contemporary ;<sup>29</sup> and Sudās the son of Divodāsa was not removed by 44 generations from Purukutsa but his foe and vanquisher.<sup>30</sup> There is no doubt, there-

26. *Rgveda*, I. 63.7 ; VI. 20.10 ; *Satapatha Brā.*, XIII. 5.4.5 (quoted above) ; *Vedic Index*, I, p. 75.

त्वं हि त्यदिन्द्र सप्त युध्यन्पुरो वज्रिन्पुरुकुत्साय दर्दः । .

बर्हिर्न यत्सुदासे वृथा वर्गहो राजन्वरिवः पूरवे कः ॥ १.६३.७ ॥

सनेम तेऽवसा नव्य इन्द्र प्र पूरवः स्तवन्त एना यज्ञैः ।

सप्त यत्पुरः शर्म शारदीर्द्वन्दासीः पुरुकुत्साय शिक्षन् ॥६.२०.१०॥

27. *Rgveda*, V. 27. 1-3 :

अनस्वन्ता सत्पतिर्मांमे मे गावा चेतिष्ठो असुरो मघोनः ।

त्रैवृष्णो अग्रे दशभिः सहस्रैर्वैश्वानर त्र्यरुणश्चिकेत ॥

यो मे शता च विंशतिं च गोनां हरी च युक्ता सुधुरा ददाति ।

वैश्वानर सुष्टुतो वावृधानोऽग्रे यच्छ त्र्यरुणाय शर्म ॥

एवा ते अग्रे सुमतिं चकानो नविष्टाय नवमं त्रसदस्युः ।

यो मे गिरस्तुविजातस्य पूर्वोयुक्तेनाभि त्र्यरुणो गृणाति ॥

28. *Taittiriya Upaniṣad*, I. 10. 1 : इति त्रिशङ्कोर्वेदानुवचनम् । ; *Vedic Index*, I, p. 331.

29. Cf. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 3, which proves the synchronism of Hariścandra, Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni, the latter two being the contemporaries of Sudās and Purukutsa.

30. Cf. *Rgveda*, I. 63. 7 (quoted above) ; VII. 8. 4 ; 18, 13.

प्रप्रायमग्निर्भरतस्य शृण्वे वि यत्सूर्यो न रोचते बृहद्भाः । .

अभि यः पूरं पृतनासु तस्थौ युतानो दैव्यो अतिथिः शुशोच ॥

॥ ७.८.४. ॥

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fore, that the *Purāṇas* have indiscriminately mixed up names in order to construct fictitious family trees, and the synchronism given by the Ṛgvedic evidence should be accepted.

The basic fact of the historicity of the *Dāśarājña* and of those who took part in it being thus established, I shall in my next lecture deal with the *Purāṇic* traditions about early Aryans of Gujarāta.

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वि सद्यो विश्वा दंहितान्येषामिन्द्रः पुरः सहसा सप्त दर्दः ।

व्यानवस्य तृत्सवे गयं भागजेष्म पूरुं विदधे मृध्रवाचं ॥ ७.१८.१३ ॥

## LECTURE II

### THE HAIHAYA EMPIRE

The Mānavas—The Saryātas—The Bhṛguṣ—The Haihaya confederacy—Its conquest—Arjuna Kārtavīrya—His Capital—Māhiṣmatī—The Outer Band of the Aryans.

The earliest tradition about the Aryans in Gujarāta is very much older than the *Dāśarājña* and is associated with the Mānavas and the Bhṛguṣ. The evidence is wholly drawn from the common traditions preserved in the *Purāṇas*, the *R̥gveda* being entirely silent.

#### I

Among the ancients, tribes enjoyed a distinctive existence mainly by its members believing in a common descent from an imaginary progenitor ; and the tribal name was in such cases always held to have been derived from his. Similarly, Mānavas, the most important group of tribes which went to form the early Aryans, claimed to be descended from Manu. He (or his brother Yima according to Zendavesta) was responsible for rescuing the creation from the great flood.<sup>1</sup> Even in the *R̥gvedic* times this Manu had lost all historical reality and was

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1. *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, I. 1.8.1 *et seq.*; *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*, XI. 2.

simply the first man, the father of the race,<sup>2</sup> as his brother Yama was the first of the mortals. He was the son of Vivasvant ;<sup>3</sup> his brother Yama was the son of Vīvanghant according to Zendavesta.<sup>4</sup>

The Mānavas proud of their lineage and their culture, swept down on the plains of India in search of fertile lands for their cattle. Their habit of looking back to a common progenitor made it easy for them to form a well-knit community. The *Purāṇic* tradition makes Manu the father of ten valiant sons : Ila, Ikṣvāku, Kuśanābha, Ariṣṭa, Dhṛṣṭa, Nariṣyanta, Karūṣa, Śaryāti, Prṣadhra and Nābhāga.<sup>5</sup> Some of

2. Cf. *Rgveda*, I. 80.16 ; II. 33.13 ; VIII. 63.1 ; X. 100.5 ; etc. Also, *Vedic Index*, II, p. 129.

यामथर्वा मनुष्पिता दध्यङ् धियमलत ।

तस्मिन्ब्रह्माणि पूर्वथेन्द्र उक्था समगमतार्चन्नु स्वराज्यं ॥ १.८०.१६ ॥

3. Cf. *Sat. Brā.*, XVIII. 4.3.3.— मनुर्वैवस्वतो राजेत्याह । also, *Atharvaveda*, VIII. 10.24 ; *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sū.*, X. 7 ; etc.

4. Zend-Avesta, Farvardīn Yast, XXIX. 130 ; Zamyād Yast, VII. 35, 36, 38. Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221, 294, 295. Cf. *Rgveda*, X. 14. 1.

परेयिवांसं प्रवतो महीरनु बहुभ्यः पन्थामनुपस्पशानं ।

वैवस्वतं संगमनं जनानां यमं राजानं हविषा दुवस्य ॥ १०.१४.१ ॥

5. *Matsya*, 11. 40-41 ; *Vāyu*, II. 3. 29-30 ; *Hari*, I, 10. 1-2 ; *Mbh.*, I. 75.15-17 ; etc.

( १ ) मनोर्वैवस्वतस्यासन्दश पुत्रा महाबलाः ।

इलस्तु प्रथमस्तेषां पुत्रेष्टयां समजायत ॥ मत्स्य० ११.४० ॥

इक्ष्वाकुः कुशनाभश्च अरिष्टो धृष्ट एव च ।

नरिष्यन्तः करुषश्च शर्यातिश्च महाबलाः ।

पृषध्रश्चाथ नाभागः सर्वैते दिव्यमानुषाः ॥ मत्स्य० ११.४१ ॥

(Continued on next page)

these names were borne by tribes which at a later period combined to form the powerful and populous tribe of Bharatas who claiming descent from Manu gave their name to India, and Manu himself, said a later tradition, was Bharata.<sup>6</sup> In other *Purāṇas* the names of some of the ten eponymous sons are given differently ; but the fact remains that Ila, Ikṣvāku and Śaryāti are found in all authorities as forming part of the Mānava group.<sup>7</sup> All these three names are really eponymous. Ikṣvāku is mentioned only once in the *R̥gveda*<sup>8</sup> and

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( २ ) इक्ष्वाकुश्चैव नाभागो धृष्टः शर्यातिरेव च ।

नरिष्यन्तश्च विख्यातो नाभउद्दिष्ट एव च ॥ वायु० २.३.२९ ॥

करुष्वश्च पृषधश्च वसुमान् नवमः स्मृतः ।

मनोर्वैवस्वतस्यैते नव पुत्राः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ वायु० २.३.३० ॥

6. Cf. VAIDYA, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, Section 1, p. 94 ; *Bhāgavata*, XII. 17 ; *Matsya*, 114. 5.

तेषां च भरतो ज्येष्ठो नारायणपरायणः ।

विख्यातं वर्षमेतत्तन्नाम्ना भारतमुच्यते ॥ भागवत० १२.१७ ॥

अथाहं वर्णयिष्यामि वर्षेऽस्मिन्भारते प्रजाः ।

भरणात्प्रजनाच्चैव मनुर्भरत उच्यते ॥ मत्स्य० ११४.५ ॥

7. Mr. PARGITER suggests the following as the original text after the collation of all *Purāṇic* sources (*Pargiter*, p. 84, n. 2) :

मनोर्वैवस्वतस्यासन् पुत्रा वै नव तत्समाः ।

इक्ष्वाकुश्चैव नाभागो धृष्टः शर्यातिरेव च ॥

नरिष्यन्तस्तथा प्रांशुर्नाभागोदिष्ट एव च ।

करुष्वश्च पृषधश्च नवैते मानवाः स्मृताः ॥

8. *R̥gveda*, X. 60. 4 :

यस्येक्ष्वाकुरुष व्रते रेवान्मराग्येभ्रते ।

दिवीव पञ्च कृष्टयः ॥

even then was possibly the name of a tribe. Later, it became the family name of the royal Pūrus in the first instance, and of the whole Solar line later.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, Śaryāti is but the imaginary ancestor of the Śaryāta tribe.<sup>10</sup>

According to Vedic literature, the Śaryātas were not included among the Pañcajanas who formed the bulk of the Aryans living in the Punjab during the Vedic period. They possibly consisted of the Yadus, the Pūrus, the Anus, the Druhyus and the Turvaśas.<sup>11</sup> In *Purāṇic* literature these names are borne by eponymous kings said to be the sons of Yayāti, a descendant of Ila, one of Manu's sons.<sup>12</sup>

From the first, Yayāti is the name of an individual and not a tribe, and is connected with many names and

9. Cf. *Vedic Index*, I, p. 75 ; RAPSON, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 308 ; contra, *Pargiter*, p. 134.

10. *Rgveda*, I. 51.12 ; III. 51.7.

आ स्मा रथं वृषपाणेषु तिष्ठसि शार्यातस्य प्रभृता येषु मन्दसे ।

इन्द्र यथा सुतसोमेषु चाक्रनोऽनर्वाणं श्लोकमा रोहसे दिवि ॥ १.५१.

१२ ॥

इन्द्र मरुत्व इह पाहि सोमं यथा शार्याते अपिबः सुतस्य ।

तव प्रणीती तव शूर शर्मन्ना विवासन्ति कवयः सुयज्ञाः ॥ ३.५१.७ ॥

11. Cf. *Vedic Index*, I, p. 467.

12. *Matsya*, 24.53-54 ; *Vāyu*, II, 31.16-17 ; *Padma*, V. 12.106-107 ; *Hari*, I. 30.4-5 ; *Mbh.*, I. 75.34-35 ; etc.

ययातेः पञ्च दायादास्तान्प्रवक्ष्यामि नामतः ।

देवयानी यदुं पुत्रं तुर्वसुं चाप्यजीजनत् ॥ मत्स्य २४.५३ ॥

तथा द्रुह्युमणं पूरु शर्मिष्ठाऽजनयत्सुतान् । ५४ ॥



traditions. He is the son of Nahuṣa<sup>13</sup> and a brother of Yati,<sup>14</sup> which name in the *Rgvedic* period appears to have been borne by an ancient clan.<sup>15</sup> And it is just likely that Yayāti may have belonged to the Yati tribe which came to be known as Aila in the *Purāṇic* literature. The Yatis are connected with Bhṛguṣ, the fire worshipping warrior priests.<sup>16</sup> Yayāti himself married

13. *Rgveda*, I. 31. 17 ; X. 63.1 etc. ; also, the *Purāṇic* authorities given in the next footnote.

मनुष्वदग्ने अङ्गिरस्वदङ्गिरो ययातिवत्सदने पूर्ववच्छुचे ।

अच्छ यात्या वहा दैव्यं जनमा सादय बर्हिषि यक्षि चं प्रियं ॥ १.३१.

१७ ॥

परावतो ये दिधिषन्त आप्यं मनुप्रीतासो जनिमा विवस्वतः ।

ययातेर्ये नहुषस्य बर्हिषि देवा आसते ते अधि ब्रुवन्तु नः ॥ १०.६३.१ ॥

14. *Matsya*, 24.49-51 ; *Vāyu*, II. 31.12-13 ; *Hari*, I. 30.1-2 ; *Mbh.*, I. 75.30-32.

नहुषस्य प्रवक्ष्यामि पुत्रान्सप्तैव धार्मिकान् ॥ मत्स्य० २४.४९ ॥

यतिर्ययातिः संयातिरुद्भवः पाचिरेव च ।

शर्यातिर्मधजातिश्च सप्तैते वंशवर्धनाः ॥ ५० ॥

यतिः कुमारभावेऽपि योगी वैखानसोऽभवत् ।

ययातिश्चाकरोद्राज्यं धर्मैकशरणः सदा ॥ ५१ ॥

cf. : यतिं ययातिं संयातिमायातिमयतिं ध्रुवम् ॥ म. भा. १.७५.३० ॥

नहुषो जनयामास षट्सुतान्प्रियवादिनः ॥ ३१ ॥

15. *Rgveda*, VIII. 3.9 ; 6.18 :

तत्त्वा यामि सुवीर्यं तद्ब्रह्म पूर्वचित्तये ।

येना यतिभ्यो भृगवे धने हिते येन प्रस्कण्वमाविथ ॥ ८.३.९ ॥

य इन्द्र यतयस्त्वा भृगवो ये च तुष्टुवुः ।

ममेदुग्र श्रुधी हवं ॥ ८.६.१८ ॥

16. Cf. the references in the previous note ; also, *Sāmaveda*, II. 304.

the daughter of Śukra (Uśanas) the great Bhṛgu.<sup>17</sup>

Śaryātas, however, were not of the Yayāti group and must have lived in the south long before the *Dāśarājña*.<sup>18</sup>

## II

Another tribe of the Aryan race which claims as proud an ancestry and certainly greater sanctity than the Mānavas are the Bhṛgus. They claim their descent from Bhṛgu, the son of Varuṇa,<sup>19</sup> though later literature has tried to make even Bhṛgu the son of Manu.<sup>20</sup> From the earliest times the Bhṛgus belonged to a powerful tribe, whose

BHṚGUS.

17. *Matsya*, 24.51-52; *Vāyu*, II. 31.15-16; *Hari*, I.30.4; *Padma*, v. 12.105-106; *Mbh.*, I. 75.34.

तेषां मध्ये तु पञ्चानां ययातिः पृथिवीपतिः ।

देवजानिमुशनसः सुतां भार्यामवाप ह ॥ वायु. २.३१.१५ ॥

शर्मिष्ठामासुरीं चैव तनयां वृषपर्वणः ॥ १६ ॥

18. Cyavana, who was connected with Śaryāta and was an ancestor of Jamadagni, a participant in the *Dāśarājña*, had his *aśrama* on the banks of the Narmadā.

19. *Pañcaviṃśa Br.*, XVIII. 19.1; *Satapatha Br.*, XI. 6.1.1; *Taitt. Āraṇyaka*, IX. 1; *Taitt. Upaniṣad*, I. 3.1.1; etc.

वरुणस्य वै सुषुवाणस्य भर्गोऽपाकामत्स त्रेधापतद्भृगुस्तृतीयमभवच्छ्रय-  
न्तीयं तृतीयमपस्तृतीयं प्राविशत् ॥ पञ्च. ब्रा. १८.९.१ ॥

भृगुर्ह वै वारुणिः ॥ शत. ब्रा. ११.६.१.१ ॥ तै. आ. ९. १ ॥

20. Cf. *Manusmṛti*, I. 34-35 :

अहं प्रजाः सिसृक्षुस्तु तपस्तप्त्वा सुदुश्चरम् ।

पतीन्प्रजानामसृजं महर्षीनादितो दश ॥ मनु. १.३४ ॥

मरीचिमत्र्यङ्गिरसौ पुलस्त्यं पुलहं क्रतुम् ।

प्रचेतसं वसिष्ठं च भृगुं नारदमेव च ॥ ३५ ॥

priestly importance appears to be as great as their martial prowess. They claimed to have brought down fire on earth through Mātariśvan.<sup>21</sup> Agnithāpana was considered to be their special function.<sup>22</sup> *Atharva Veda* which in some of its parts must be considered very ancient, was the special branch to which the Bhṛḡus were devoted.<sup>23</sup> *Atharvaveda* itself is called Bhṛḡvāṅgirasah.<sup>24</sup> Kavi Uśanas and Cyavana, both undoubtedly Bhṛḡus, are also called the sons of Aṅgirasas.<sup>25</sup> In later tradition the Bhṛḡus and the Aṅgirasas became separate and the word Atharvaṇa was

21. *Rgveda*, I. 60.1 ; III. 5.10 :

वहिं यशसं विदथस्य केतुं सुप्राव्यं दूतं सद्यो अर्थ ।

द्विजन्मानं रयिमिव प्रशस्तं रार्तिं भरद्वागवे मातरिश्वा ॥ १.६०.१ ॥

उदस्तम्भीत्समिधा नाकमृष्वो ३ मिर्भवन्नुत्तमो रोचनानां ।

यदी भृगुभ्यः परि मातरिश्वा गुहा सन्तं हव्यवाहं समीधे ॥ ३.५.१० ॥

22. *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*, I. 4.1 ; *Taitt. Sam.*, IV. 6.5.2 ; V. 6.8.6 ; *Atharvaveda*, IV. 14.5.

इष्टो यज्ञो भृगुभिर्द्रविणोदा यतिभिराशीर्दा वसुभिः ।

अङ्गिरसो मे अस्य यज्ञस्य प्रातरनुवाकैरहौषुः ॥ मै. सं. १.४.१ ॥

....अमे प्रेहि प्रथ देवयतां चक्षुर्देवानामुत मर्त्यानाम् ।

इयक्षमाणा भृगुभिः सजोषाः सुवर्यन्तु यजमानाः स्वस्ति ॥

तै. सं. ४.६.५.२ ॥

23. WEBER, *History of Indian Literature* (Eng. trans.), 1882, pp. 11, 148 ; *Pargiter*, p. 319.

24. BLOOMFIELD, *Hymns of the Atharvaveda, Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XLII, Intr., pp. xxiii-xxvi, xxxiii et seq.

25. *Satapatha Brā.*, IV. 1.5.1 : यत्र वै भृगवो वाङ्गिरसो वा स्वग

लोकं समाश्वत तच्छयवनो वा भार्गवश्चयवनो वाङ्गिरसस्तदेव जीर्णिः

कृत्यारूपो जहे ।

applied only to a school of ritualists.<sup>26</sup> The earliest traditions are only consistent with the fact that the Atharvans (Athravans of the Zend Avesta) and Aṅgirasas and the Bhṛgu were the same.

From the earliest times the Bhṛgu appear to be closely associated with what is called the Yayāti group of tribes. Kavi Uśanas or Śukrācārya was a great teacher and, in the *Purāṇas* the high priest of the Asuras and a rival of Br̥haspati, the priest of the gods.<sup>27</sup> His daughter Devayānī was married to Yayāti who had also married the daughter of a, perhaps non-Aryan, king, Vṛṣaparvan.<sup>28</sup> Kavi Uśanas son of Kavi Apiveh is the same as Kava Usa, the son of Kavi Kavāta (Kaikobad) and the father of Syavuksh, the second king of the Kayanian dynasty<sup>29</sup> (Cyavana?). In view of this identification, Yayāti must be taken to have flourished before the Indian Aryans separated from their Persian brethren. It also appears very clearly

26. Cf. *Vedic Index*, I, p. 18.

27. *Pañcaviṃśa Br̥.*, VII. 5.20 ; *Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, XIV. 27.1 ; *Taitt. Sam̐.*, II. 5.8.5 ; *Matsya*, 25.8-14 ; 30.9 ; *Mbh.*, I. 65.36 ; 66.42-43 ; 81.9 ; etc.

उशना वै काव्योऽसुराणां पुरोहित आसीत्...। पं. ब्रा. ७.५.२० ॥

cf. शां. श्रौ. सू. १४.२७.१ :

शुक्रो नामासुरगुरुः .....॥ मत्स्य. ३०.९ ; म. भा. १.८१.९ ॥

28. See footnote 17 :

तेषां ययातिः पञ्चानां विजित्य वसुधामिमाम् ।

देवयानीमुशनसः सुतां भार्यामवाप सः ।

शर्मिष्ठायासुरीं चैव तनयां वृषपर्वणः ॥ हरि. १.३०.४ ॥

29. Zend Avesta, *SBE*, Vol. XXIII, p. 65, n. 1 ; also, *Pahlavi Texts*, *SBE*, Vol. V, p. 136 (*Bundahis*, Ch. XXI. 25).

that the Mānavas and Bhṛguś freely intermarried with the non-Aryan tribes.

### III

The Bhṛguś were closely associated with the Śaryāta tribe of the Mānavas also.<sup>30</sup> In the *Ṛgveda Samhitā*

the name Śaryāta had already receded into the past; it was only borne

by a singer who claimed to be descended from an eponymous Śaryāta.<sup>31</sup> Śaryāta seems to be remembered in the *Brāhmaṇas* only in connection with the legend of the rejuvenation of Cyavana the Bhārgava, and the introduction of Aśvins as the presiding deities at a sacrifice along with Indra.<sup>32</sup>

The story as given by the *Śatapatha* runs as follows :

When the Bhṛguś or the Aṅgirasas attained the heavenly world, Cyavana the Bhārgava or Cyavana the Aṅgiras, was left behind here, decrepit and ghostlike. But Śaryāta, the Mānava, just then wandered about here with his tribe, and settled nearby that same place. His boys, while playing, setting that decrepit, ghostlike man at nought pelted him with clods. He was wroth with the Śaryātas, and sowed discord among them : father fought with son, and brother with brother.

Śaryāta then bethought him. ' This has come to pass for something or other I have done ! ' He caused the cowherds and shepherds to be called together, and said, ' Which of you has seen anything here this day ? ' They said : " Yonder lies a man decrepit and ghostlike ; him the boys have pelted with clods,

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30. Cf. *Matsya*, 11.40-41 ; *Mbh.*, I. 75.16 ; *Hari.*, I. 10.1 ; etc. quoted in foot-note 5, where Śaryāti is one of the sons of Manu, and hence Mānava.

31. *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 364-365 ; also foot-note 10, where the quotations from the *Ṛgveda* are given.

32. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII. 21-24 ; *Śatapatha Brā.*, IV. 1.5 ; *Jaiminiya Brā.*, III, 120-122.

setting him 'at nought.' Then Śaryāta knew that this was Cyavana.

He yoked his chariot, and putting his daughter Sukanyā thereon, he set forth, and came to the place where the Ṛṣi was. He said ; " Reverence be to thee, O Ṛṣi, because I knew thee not, therefore have I offended thee ; here is Sukanyā ; with her I make atonement to thee ; let my tribe live at peace together." And from that time his tribe lived at peace together. But Śaryāta the Mānava, departed forthwith lest he should offend him a second time.<sup>33</sup>

This legend finds a place in many *Brāhmaṇas*, and Cyavana's connection with Śaryāti may be taken to represent a historic fact.

Śaryāti Mānava is the first Aryan connected with Gujarāta, for it received its first Aryan name from his eponymous son Ānarta.<sup>34</sup> Cyavana in the *Purāṇas* is always connected with the territory now known as Gujarāta.<sup>35</sup> It also appears that long prior to the itinerary of Yudhiṣṭhira, a mountain top between the Payoṣṇī (the Tapti) and the Narmadā had come to be identified as the Vaidūrya Parvata where Cyavana got his youth restored and where Śaryāti performed his sacrifice with Aśvins as the presiding deities.<sup>36</sup> The great

33. *Satapatha Brā.*, IV. 1.5.1-7 ; EGDELING, *SBE*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 272-273.

34. Cf. Lecture I, foot-note 2.

35. Cyavana married Sukanyā, daughter of Śaryāti, King of Ānarta, and practised austerities near the Vaidūrya Parvata and the river Narmadā.—*Mbh.*, III. 121-122 ; III. 89-12.

36. *Mbh.*, III. 121.19, 21.

देवानामेति कौन्तेय तथा राज्ञां सलोकताम् ।

वैदूर्यपर्वतं दृष्ट्वा नर्मदामवतीर्य च ॥ १९ ॥

एष शर्यातियज्ञस्य देशस्तात प्रकाशते ।

साक्षाद्यत्रापिबत्सोममश्विभ्यां सह कौशिकः ॥ २१ ॥

Bhṛguś who, as will be seen later, were closely connected with these parts of India were, according to the *Purāṇas*, descended from Cyavana. This establishes that the Śaryātas and Bhṛguś who lived in Ānarta and the banks of the Narmadā had the same important tradition as in Kurukṣetra.

The extent of the land occupied by these peoples is indicated by the genealogy of Śaryāti as given in the *Purāṇas* ; Śaryāti's son Ānarta gives his name to north Gujarāta ; his daughter Sukanyā is married to Cyavana whose *āśrama* is on the Narmadā ; his son Reva may be connected with the Revā, the synonym of the river Narmadā, and his son Raivata Kakudmin who gave his name to Mt. Raivataka in Saurāṣṭra.<sup>37</sup> The family of the last named son reigned at Kuśasthalī, the ancient name of Dvārakā which was subsequently destroyed by Puṇyajana Rākṣasas.<sup>38</sup>

Nothing in this tradition indicates that these tribes, all nomadic, were not here from the earliest time recorded in tradition.

37. Śaryāta genealogy is given in : *Matsya*, 12.21-24 ; *Vāyu*, II. 24.23-25 ; *Padma*, V. 8.126-129 ; *Hari*, I. 10.30-37 ; 11.1-7.

आनर्तो नाम शर्यातेः सुकन्या चैव दारिका ॥ पद्म. ५.८.१२६ ॥

आनर्तस्याभवत्पुत्रो रोचमानः प्रतापवान् ।

आनर्तो नाम देशोऽभून्नगरी च कुशस्थली ॥ १२७ ॥

रोचमानस्य रेवोऽभूद्देवादेवत एव च ।

ककुद्मी चापरं नाम ज्येष्ठः पुत्रशतस्य वै ॥ १२८ ॥

38. Cf. *Hari*, I. 11.4 ; *Vāyu*, II. 26.1 :

ककुद्मिन्स्तु तं लोकं रैवतस्य गतस्य ह ।

हता पुण्यजनैस्तात राक्षसैः सा कुशस्थली ॥ हरि. १.११.४ ॥

## IV

The other name connected with Gujarāta, no doubt later in time, was that of Haihayas. Various names are added to the word Haihaya by different authorities to describe a confederacy of tribes. Sometimes it is called Haihaya Tālajaṅghas or Vītahavyas or Vītahavya Haihayas or Śrñjaya Vītahavyas.

In spite of later *Purāṇic* tradition which traced the descent of the Haihayas from Yadu the son of King Yayāti, there is no doubt that the Haihaya-Tālajaṅgha tribes did not belong to the Yayāti group or the Inner Band, but closely allied to the Śaryātas and formed the Outer Band of Aryans. The *Mahābhārata* at one place presumes the tradition that the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas are descended from Śaryāti himself.<sup>39</sup>

Just as in the case of Yayāti, Arjuna Kārtavīrya is an individual while his immediate descendants are all eponymous kings. Śūrasena, Śūra, Tālajaṅgha, Avanti, Vītihotra, Śaryāta, Bhoja, Tuṇḍikera and Ānarta are said to be the names of Arjuna's sons.<sup>40</sup> In reality these names were borne by tribes which went up to

39. *Mbh.*, XIII. 30.6-7 :

मनोर्महात्मनस्तात प्रजा धर्मेण शासतः ।

बभूव पुत्रो धर्मात्मा शर्यातिरिति विश्रुतः ॥ ६ ॥

तस्यान्ववाये द्वौ राजन् राजानौ सम्बभूवतुः ।

हैहयस्तालजङ्घश्च वत्सस्य जयतां वर ॥ ७ ॥

40. *Matsya*, 43.46-49 ; *Vāyu*, II. 32.49-52 ; *Padma*, V. 12.145-148 ; *Hari*, I. 33.49-52.

शरसेनश्च शरश्च धृष्टः क्रोष्टुस्तथैव च ।

जयध्वजश्च वैकर्ता अवन्तिश्च विशांपते ॥ मत्स्य. ४३.४६ ॥

(Continued on next page)



make the Haihaya confederacy, of which Arjuna was the leader.

Śūrasena is the Mathurā region ;<sup>41</sup> the Śūras evidently gave their name to the Surāṣṭra. The other Śaryāta tribes, as already shown, were settled in Gujarāta and Kathiawar. Avantis gave their name to Malva ;<sup>42</sup> Ānarta is north Gujarāta ;<sup>43</sup> Vītihoṭra or Vītiḥavya is a country in the Vindhyan plateau ;<sup>44</sup> Śuṇḍikera or Tuṇḍikera is also the name of a tribe near the Vindhya ;<sup>45</sup> Bhojas were settled near Aravalli hills and

(Continued from previous page)

जयध्वजस्य पुत्रस्तु तालजङ्घो महाबलः ।

तस्य पुत्रशतान्येव तालजङ्घा इति श्रुताः ॥ ४७ ॥

तेषां पञ्च कुलः ख्याता हैहयानां महात्मनाम् ।

वीतिहोत्राश्च शार्याता भोजाश्चावन्तयस्तथा ॥ ४८ ॥

कुण्डिकेराश्च विक्रान्तास्तालजङ्घास्तथैव च ॥ ४९<sub>a</sub> ॥

41. CUNNINGHAM'S *Ancient Geography*, pp. 427, 428, 706 ; DEY, *Geographical Dictionary*, 2nd Edn., p. 197 ; PARGITER, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 351 n \*\*.

42. DEY, *op. cit.*, p. 13 ; PARGITER, *op. cit.*, p. 344 n §.

43. DEY, *op. cit.*, p. 7 ; PARGITER, *op. cit.*, p. 340 n §.

44. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 57.55 ; *Matsya*, 144.54 ; *Hari*, I. 34.52 ; PARGITER, *op. cit.*, p. 344 n †.

अन्नजास्तुष्टिकाराश्च वीरहोत्रा ह्यवन्तयः ।

एते जनपदाः सर्वे विन्ध्यपृष्ठनिवासिनः ॥ मार्कण्डेय. ५७.५५ ॥

45. *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 57.55 ; *Matsya*, 114.54 ; *Hari*, I. 34.52 ; PARGITER, *op. cit.*, p. 344, n †. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* reads तुष्टिकार, the *Matsya*, शौण्डिकेर, while the *Hari*, *Vāyu* (II.32.52) and *Mbh.*, (VII. 17.19 ; VIII. 5.49) have तुण्डिकेर ; in 43.49, the *Matsya* reads कुण्डिकेर. According to PARGITER (*loc. cit.*) तुण्डिकेर is the correct reading.

अरूपाः शौण्डिकेराश्च वीतिहोत्रा अवन्तयः ।

एते जनपदाः ख्याता विन्ध्यपृष्ठनिवासिनः ॥ मत्स्य. ११४.५४ ॥

their kingdom was known as Śālva during the *Mahā-bhārata* period.<sup>46</sup> Evidently, therefore, the Haihaya confederacy occupied a territory which was bound by the Yamunā on the north-east, the Vetravatī or Betwa on the east, the Narmadā on the south and the Sea and the desert on the west.

## V.

The *Purāṇic* story of the Haihaya conquests can shortly be summarised. The Hai-

THE HAIHAYA  
CONQUESTS.

hayas possibly from Malva to which Avanti, one of their tribes, furnished the name, proceeded to conquer the east. Bhadraśreṇya its king seized the kingdom of Divodāsa son of Bhīmāratha, the king of Kāśīs, an Eastern tribe. Divodāsa recovered Vārāṇasī, the capital from Bhadraśreṇya's sons ; but one of them, Durdama, recaptured it. Ultimately Divodāsa's son Pratardana drove out the Haihayas from Vārāṇasī and regained the city.<sup>47</sup> Haryaśva, another king of the Kāśīs, fought the Vītahavya-Haihayas at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna. They killed him but were driven back by Pratardana, and the Vītahavya king had to find refuge with Bhṛgu.<sup>48</sup> Driven

46. DEY, *op. cit.*, pp. 127, 132, 175 ; PARGITER, *op. cit.*, pp. 335 n § ; 342n § ; 349 n § ; *Mbh.*, II. 14.5-10, 21-25 ; III. 14.22 ; 14.16, 20, 21 ; 17.4, 19 ; 20.15 ; 116.6 ; 254.10 ; 264.6 ; IV. 1.11, 12 ; 30.2 ; V. 48.74, 79 ; 175.2, 5 ; VII. 11.8, 14 ; XVI. 7.69 ; etc ; *Hari*, I. 36.15 ; 37.16.

47. *Vāyu*, II. 30.23-26 ; 61-65 ; *Hari*, I. 29.29-34 ; 69-72 ; I, 32.23-35.

48. *Mbh.*, XIII. 30.10-57.

काशिष्वपि नृपो राजन् दिवोदासपितामहः ।

हर्यश्च इति विख्यातो बभूव जयतां वरः ॥ १० ॥

(Continued on next page)

from the east, the Haihayas turned to the west and conquered the kingdom of Śālva which was to the east of Aravalli hills.<sup>49</sup> Then among the Haihayas arose Arjuna Kārtavīrya, a mighty conqueror, a *saṃrāj* and a *cakravartin*—the first Indian Emperor.<sup>50</sup> As we read

ARJUNA  
KĀRTAVĪRYA

the *Purāṇic* traditions we see a mighty conqueror, headstrong and restless, devastating both in wrath and conquest, rise before us. He propitiated Dattātreya and started on an extensive conquest which raised the

(Continued from previous page)

स वीतहव्यदायादैरागत्य पुरुषर्षभ ।

गङ्गायमुनयोर्मध्ये संग्रामे विनिपातितः ॥ ११ ॥

हतेषु तेषु सर्वेषु वीतहव्यः सुतेष्वथ ।

प्राद्वन्नगरं हित्वा भृगोराश्रममप्युत ॥ ४४ ॥

ययौ भृगुं च शरणं वीतहव्यो नराधिपः ।

अभयं च ददौ तस्मै राज्ञे राजन् भृगुस्तदा ॥ ४५ ॥

भृगोर्वचनमात्रेण स च ब्रह्मर्षितां गतः ॥ ५७ ॥

49. Cf. *Mbh.*, XII. 234.33 ; XIII. 137-23.

नाम्ना च द्युतिमान्नाम शाल्वराजः प्रतापवान् ।

दत्त्वा राज्यमृचीकाय गतो लोकाननुत्तमान् ॥

50. *Matsya*, 43 ; *Vāyu*, II. 32 ; *Hari*, I. 33 ; *Padma*, V. 12.

स हि वर्षायुतं तप्त्वा तपः परमदुश्चरम् ।

दत्तमाराधयामास कार्तवीर्योऽत्रिसम्भवम् ॥ हरि. १.३३.१० ॥

तेनेयं पृथिवी सर्वा सप्तद्वीपा सप्ततना ।

ससमुद्रा सनगरा उग्रेण विधिना जिता ॥ १५ ॥

पञ्चाशीति सहस्राणि वर्षाणां वै नराधिपः ।

स सर्वरत्नभाक्सम्राट् चक्रवर्ती बभूव ह ॥ २३ ॥

स हि नागान्मनुष्येषु माहिष्मत्यां महाद्युतिः ।

कर्कोटकसुताजित्वा पुर्यां तस्यां न्यवेशयत् ॥ २६ ॥

Haihaya power to the highest. He invaded the territories near the mouth of the Narmadā which were then occupied by the Nāgas, a civilised race which had maritime connections even with Babylon. Once Purukutsa the Pūru king of the Inner Band had come to their assistance, but now Arjuna destroyed them hip and thigh killing their king Karkoṭaka. And on the ruins of the Nāga settlement on the banks of Narmadā arose the first great Aryan city of the Western India, Māhiṣmatī.

## LECTURE III

### PARAŚURĀMA'S CONQUEST OF GUJARĀTA.

Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā, capital of Anūpadeśa—The extent of Arjuna's empire—Māhiṣmatī of later traditions—Māhiṣmatī of King Nīla—The career of Arjuna—Paraśurāma—Agni Aurva, his successor.

All the important *Purāṇas* contain the valuable tradition of the foundation of Māhiṣmatī by Arjuna,<sup>1</sup> which is evidently based on facts ; and if the city of Māhiṣmatī was situate in Gujarāta it furnishes an important link in its history.

## I

The Māhiṣmatī of Kārtavīrya was situated at the place where now stands the town of Broach (Bhṛgukaccha) in Gujarāta. The characteristics of this city are preserved by the *Purāṇas*. All the authorities agree that it stood on the banks of Narmadā ; that the tidal waves of the sea came right up to it and that it was a base of naval power.

ललता क्रीडता तेन प्रतिस्रग्दाममालिनी ।

ऊर्मिभ्रुकुटिसंत्रासाच्चकिताभ्येति नर्मदा ॥

एको बाहुसहस्रेण वगाहे स महार्णवम् ।

करोत्युद्धृत्तवेगां तु नर्मदां प्रावृद्धताम् ॥

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1. *Matsya*, 43.29 ; *Vāyu*, II. 32.26 ; *Padma*, V. 12.130-132 ; *Hari*, I. 33.26 ; cf. footnote 50, Lecture II.

तस्य बाहुसहस्रेण क्षोभ्यमाने महोदधौ ।

भवन्त्यतीव निश्चेष्टाः पातालस्था महासुराः ॥<sup>2</sup>

When he [Kārtavīrya] agitated the waters of the river in his gambols, the Narmadā trembling with fear at his sight and becoming highly astonished surrendered herself to him. He alone with his thousand arms swelled it by putting the water of the sea into it ; and increased it as it increases in the monsoon. And the ocean being thus agitated by his thousand arms became subdued by him, and extended his sea power so that the residents in the Pātāla became inoffensive and quiet.<sup>3</sup>

Somehow this peculiarity appears to have been lost sight of by those who have tried to locate this city, but it is so clearly given in the *Purāṇas* that it admits of no doubt on this point.

None of the places on the Narmadā which have been heretofore identified as Māhiṣmatī stood or stands where the tidal waves could conceivably have reached. The only place on the Narmadā which could have been possibly described in this manner must have stood somewhere near the site of the present city of Broach, which according to Hwen Thsang stood very near the sea in his time.<sup>4</sup>

Being the capital of Kārtavīrya's empire it must have occupied an important position in the portion of the country over which he

ANŪPADEŚĀ

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2. *Matsya*, 43.31-33 ; cf. also, *Vāyu*, II. 32.28-30 ; *Padma*, V. 12.132-135 ; *Hari*, I. 33.

3. *Matsya Purāṇa*, *Sacred Books of the Hindus*, Vol. XVII, Part I, p. 114.

4. CUNNINGHAM'S *Ancient Geography of India*, Edited by S. N. MAJUMDAR (hereafter referred to as *Cunningham*), p. 374.

held sway. Kārtavīrya is called the 'lord of Anūpa.'<sup>5</sup> Anūpa literally means a place near the sea or a marshy place, and was applied to various tracts near the sea.<sup>6</sup> In the *Mahābhārata* times the word Anūpa was applied to a kingdom, evidently insignificant, on the west coast.<sup>7</sup> It also appears that Surāṣṭra, Anūpa and Ānarta were contiguous countries and that Anūpa lay to the south of Surāṣṭra.<sup>8</sup> These references show that the only portion which could be called Anūpa and which could have

5. *Mbh.*, III. 116.19 :

अथानूपपतिर्वारिः कार्तवीर्योऽभ्यवर्तते ॥

The term "lord of Anūpa" has been used in the *Mbh.* with reference to Nila (अनूपाधिपतिः, *Mbh.*, VI. 94.29) and Durdharṣa (अनूपराजः, *Mbh.*, II. 4.28) also.

6. *Mbh.*, V. 19.9 ; *Vāyu*, II. 26.86 ; *Hari*, II. 37.30 :

तथैव पाण्ड्यो राजेन्द्र सागरानूपवासिभिः ।

वृत्तो बहुविधैर्यौधैर्युधिष्ठिरमुपागमत् ॥ म. भा. ५.१९.९ ॥

दारास्तु तस्य विषये विश्वामित्रो महातपाः ।

सन्न्यस्य सागरानूपे चचार विपुलं तपः ॥ वायु. २.२६.८६ ॥

पालयैनं शुभं राष्ट्रं समुद्रानूपभूषितम् ।

गोसमुद्धं श्रिया जुष्टमाभीरप्रायमानुषम् ॥ हरि. २.३७.३० ॥

Also, सागरानूप (*Mbh.*, II. 26.9 ; 30.27 ; 34.10 ; etc.).

7. *Mbh.*, V. 4.18 ; also, *Mbh.*, II. 4.28 ; V. 19.9.

कारुषकाश्च राजानः क्षेमधूर्तिश्च वीर्यवान् ।

काम्बोजा ऋषिका ये च पश्चिमानूपकाश्च ये ॥ म. भा. ५.४.१८ ॥

8. *Hari*, II. 37.30-40 :

अत्र ते वसतस्तात दुर्गं गिरिपुरं महत् ।

भविता पार्थिवावासः सुराष्ट्रविषयो महान् ॥ हरि. २.३७.३१ ॥

अनूपविषयश्चैव समुद्रान्ते निरामयः ।

आनर्तं नाम ते राष्ट्रं भविष्यत्यायतं महत् ॥ २२ ॥

a capital situate on the Narmadā must be the portion of Gujarāta between the Mahi and the Tapti.

The extent of the empire as shown above clearly shows that its most important portion was Anūpa, i.e., Gujarāta. And neither Mandala<sup>9</sup> nor Maheshwar<sup>10</sup> nor Mandhata<sup>11</sup> with which Māhiṣmatī is attempted to be identified, occupies a central position with regard to this kingdom ; it would be more natural to expect its capital somewhere nearer the sea, and, being on the Narmadā, it must be somewhere near Broach.

## II

During the period when the *Mahābhārata* was composed Kārtavīrya's country and its capital Māhiṣmatī appear to have ceased to exist. Then Āryāvarta except for the kingdom of Vidarbha was for all practical purposes bounded on the south by Narmadā and consisted of well-defined kingdoms.<sup>12</sup> None of Kārtavīrya's line is mentioned as having reigned in Māhiṣmatī after him. Jayadhvaja, a descendant of Kārtavīrya, is a king of Avanti.<sup>13</sup>

9. *Cunningham*, p. 559 ; *SLEEMAN, Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1837, p. 622.

10. *WILFORD, Asiatic Researches*, 1807, p. 105 ; *Imperial Gazetteer*, X, p. 329 ; *Cunningham*, p. 560.

11. *PARGITER, Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, pp. ix (intr.), 333 n. † ; *FLEET, JRAS*, 1920, pp. 444-447.

12. Cf. *Mbh.*, II. 31 ; III. 88,89, 117,118 ; VI. 9 ; etc., which show that various southern countries were peopled by non-Aryans.

13. *Matsya*, 43.46 ; *Vāyu*, II. 32.49-50 ; *Hari*, I. 33.49 ; *Padma*, V. 12.145.

शरसेनश्च शरश्च धृष्टः क्रोष्टुस्तथैव च ।

जयध्वजश्च वैकर्ता अवन्तिश्च विशांपते ॥ मत्स्य. ४३.४६ ॥



Kālidāsa in the *Raghuvamśa* mentions a king Pratīpa, descended from Kārtavīrya, holding sway at Māhiṣmatī.<sup>14</sup> But neither the Epics nor the *Purāṇas* mention any such name in his line and the poet seems to have given a local

MĀHIṢMATĪ OF  
LATER LITERA-  
TURE NOT THE  
CAPITAL OF THE  
HAIHAYAS.

habitation, name and a traditional lineage to an imaginary king with a view merely to heighten the literary effect of the situation by a recital of the glorious deeds of Kārtavīrya. On the contrary, it is quite clear that in Kālidāsa's time no city of the name of Māhiṣmatī with the memories of Kārtavīrya attached to it was known to exist on the northern bank of Narmadā. Because had there been any such city, Meghadūta on his way from Amaraṇṭaka to Vidiśā and Ujjain would not have failed to halt at the town where once the thousand-armed Haihaya ruled and thus give the poet an opportunity for an eulogistic outburst.

### III

The Māhiṣmatī of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* is the city where lived a tribe designated as Mahiṣa, Mahiṣaka, Mahiṣika or Māhiṣaka.<sup>15</sup>

14. *Raghuvamśa*, VI. 43 :

अस्याङ्गलक्ष्मीर्भव दीर्घबाहोर्माहिष्मतीवप्रनितम्बकाञ्चीम् ।

प्रासादजालैर्जलवेणिरम्यां रेवां यदि प्रेक्षितुमस्ति कामः ॥

15. Mahiṣa (*Harī*, I. 14.18 ; *Bṛhatsamhitā*, 9.10) ; Mahiṣaka (*Mbh.*, VI. 9.59 ; XIII. 33.22 ; *Bṛhatsamhitā*, 17.26) ; Māhiṣika (*Matsya*, 114.47) ; Māhiṣaka (*Mārkaṇḍeya*, 57.46 ; *Vāyu*, I. 45. 125 ; *Mbh.*, VIII. 44.43 ; XIV. 83.11). The last passage (*Mbh.*,

(Continued on next page)

The position of this city could be ascertained by a reference to the Epics and the *Purāṇas*, all of which agree in considering it a country of the Dakṣiṇāpatha. Sahadeva comes to it only after crossing the Narmadā, but after conquering Avanti, Bhojakaṭa, Kosala and Prākkosala—perhaps the same as Mahākosala of Hwen Thsang,<sup>16</sup>—the kings on the banks of the Venya (Vain-ganga), the Pulindas (Pulmadai of Ptolemy) and Kiṣkindhā.<sup>17</sup> The *Aśvamedha Parva* puts Mahiṣaka between Āndhra and Kollagiri,<sup>18</sup> the *Bhīṣma Parva*

(Continued from previous page)

XIV. 83.11) according to PARGITER (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 333 n ‡) reads “Māhiṣmakas”; the word is not found in SÖRENSEN'S *Index to Names in the Mahābhārata*, and all the printed editions of the *Mahābhārata* have “Māhiṣaka” in XIV. 83.11.

शका यवनकाम्बोजाः पारदाश्च विशांपते ।

कोलिसर्पाः समहिषा दार्द्याश्चोलाः सकेरलाः ॥ हरि. १.१४.१८ ॥

कर्णाटका महिषका विकल्पा मूषकास्तथा ।

झिल्लिकाः कुन्तलाश्चैव सौहृदा नभकाननाः ॥ म. भा. ६. ९. ५९ ॥

सेतुकाः सूतिकाश्चैव कुपथा वाजिवासिकाः ।

नवराष्ट्रा माहिषिकाः कलिङ्गाश्चैव सर्वशः ॥ मत्स्य. ११४.४७ ॥

सेतुका मूषिकाश्चैव कुमना वनवासिकाः ।

महाराष्ट्रा माहिषिकाः कलिङ्गाश्चैव सर्वशः ॥ वायु. १.४५.१२५ ॥

Some further quotations are given below in footnotes 18, 19, 21, 24, 28 and 29.

16. Cf. *Cunningham*, pp. 595, 735-36.

17. *Mbh.*, II. 31.10-21.

18. *Mbh.*, XIV. 83.11 :

तत्रापि द्रविडैरान्ध्रै रौद्रैर्माहिषकैरपि ।

तथा कोल्लगिरेयैश्च युद्धमासीत्किरीटिनः ॥

with the southern countries like Karnāṭaka.<sup>19</sup> In the *Rāmāyaṇa Kišk. K.*, it is placed between Vidarbha and Ṛcika<sup>20</sup> on the one hand, and Kaliṅga and Daṇḍa-kāraṇya on the other.<sup>21</sup>

In the *Matsya Purāṇa* it is placed between Pāṇḍya, Kerala, Cola on the one hand and Kaliṅga, Vidarbha, Daṇḍaka and countries on the Narmadā on the other.<sup>22</sup> Further it is not mentioned as one of the countries on the western extremity of (as a matter of fact, surrounding) the Vindhya though Kiṣkindhaka which is to the

19. *Mbh.*, VI. 9.58-59 :

अथापरे जनपदा दक्षिणा भरतर्षभ ।

द्रविडाः केरलाः प्राच्या मूषिका वनवासिकाः ॥ ५८ ॥

कर्णाटका महिषका विकल्पा मूषकास्तथा ॥

20. BHANDARKAR, *Early History of the Dekkhan*, Bombay, 1895, p. 3.

21. *Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa*, 41.11-12 (Nirnayasagar Ed.)

विदर्भानृषिकांश्चैव रम्यान्माहिषकानपि ।

तथा वज्रान्कलिङ्गांश्च कौशिकांश्च समन्ततः ॥ ११ ॥

अन्वीक्ष्य दण्डकारण्यं सपर्वतनदीगुहम् ।

नदीं गोदावरीं चैव सर्वमेवानुपश्यत ।

तथैवान्ग्रांश्च पुण्ड्रांश्च चोलान्पाण्ड्यांश्च केरलान् ॥ १२ ॥

22. *Matsya*, 114.46-51 ; cf. *Vāyu*, I. 45.124-125 ; *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 57.46-49.

तेषां परे जनपदा दक्षिणापथवासिनः ।

पाण्ड्याश्च केरलाश्चैव चोलाः कुल्यास्तथैव च ॥ मत्स्य. ११४.४६ ॥

नवराष्ट्रा माहिषिकाः कलिङ्गाश्चैव सर्वशः ॥ ४७ b ॥

पुलिन्दा विन्ध्यपुषिका वैदर्भा दण्डकैः सह ॥ ४८ b ॥

वासिक्याश्चैव ये चान्ये ये चैवान्तरनर्मदाः । ५० b ।

इत्येते अपरान्तास्तु शृणु ये विन्ध्यवासिनः ॥ ५१ a ॥

north of Mahiṣaka is placed there.<sup>23</sup> The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* places it between Mahārāṣṭra and Kalinga.<sup>24</sup>

From a careful perusal of these lists the following conclusions can be deduced :—

(1) That Kiṣkindhaka was on the Vindhya<sup>25</sup> but Mahiṣaka, which was to the south of it, was not.

(2) That Mahiṣaka was to the south of Narmadā and not quite on its southern bank.

(3) That it was further to the south of Vidarbha and between Kalinga, Āndhra, Kollagiri and Daṇḍaka. These countries are now identified beyond controversy.

(4) That at the time the town known as Māhiṣmatī was neither on the north bank of the Narmadā, nor anywhere near the sea, nor within that portion of the country which could be identified with Anūpadeśa.

These conclusions leave no doubt whatsoever that the Māhiṣmatī of king Nīla was not the Māhiṣmatī of king Kārtavīrya.

23. *Matsya*, 114.51-54 ; cf. *Vāyu*, I. 45.132-134 ; *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 57.52-55.

मालवाश्च करुषाश्च मेकलाश्चोत्कलैः सह ।

औष्ठा भाषा दशार्णाश्च भोजाः किष्किन्धकैः सह ॥ मत्स्य. ११४.५२ ॥

एते जनपदाः ख्याता विन्ध्यपृष्ठनिवासिनः ॥ ५४ ॥

24. *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 57.46 :

शैलूषा मूषिकाश्चैव कुसुमा नाम वासकाः ।

महाराष्ट्रा माहिषका कलिङ्गाश्चैव सर्वशः ॥

25. Contra, DEY, *Geographical Dictionary*, pp. 100-101, where Kiṣkindhā is placed near Dharwar in the Bombay Presidency. The words विन्ध्यपृष्ठनिवासिनः in the *Purāṇic* authorities cited in the earlier footnotes conclusively prove that Kiṣkindhaka was on the Vindhyas.

But if anything more was required the description of  
 MĀHIṢMATĪ OF Māhiṣmatī of Nīla, as given in the  
 KING NĪLA *Mahābhārata, Sabhā P.*, would be  
 sufficient to make its identification with the city of the  
 great Haihaya king impossible.

King Nīla though at one place called 'king of Anūpa' (a clear case of transfer of traditional epithet)<sup>26</sup> is neither a Haihaya nor a Yādava nor one reported to have descended from some eminent founder of the families of Aryan kings. His people are not Aryans of any well-known stock but Nīlāyudhas (or Līlāyudhas).<sup>27</sup> They have given up the sacred rights,<sup>28</sup> and their easy morals have nothing in common with

26. *Mbh.*, VI. 94. 29 ; cf. footnote 5 above.

अनूपाधिपतिः शूरो भीमस्य दयितः सखा ।

नीलो नीलाम्बुदप्रख्यः संक्रुद्धो द्रौणिमभ्ययात् ॥

27. *Mbh.*, V. 19.23-24 ; VI. 56.13. PARGITER (*op. cit.*, p. 334 note) reads "līlāyudha" for "nīlāyudha" in the former passage according to the Calcutta edition ; SÖRENSEN (*op. cit.*, s.v. 'Nīlāyudha') regards the Calcutta variant—Līlāyudha—as an 'error.'

तथा माहिष्मतीवासी नीलो नीलायुधैः सह ॥ म. भा. ५.१९.२३ ॥

महीपालो महावीर्यैर्दक्षिणापथवासिभिः ॥ २४<sub>a</sub> ॥

तदनन्तरमेवासीनीलो नीलायुधैः सह ।

नीलादनन्तरश्चैव वृष्टकेतुर्महाबलः ॥ म. भा. ६.५६.१३ ॥

28. *Mbh.*, XIII. 33.22-23 :

द्राविडाश्च कलिङ्गाश्च पुलिन्दाश्चाप्युत्तीनराः ।

कोलिसर्पा महिषकास्तास्ताः क्षत्रियजातयः ॥

वृषलत्वं परिगता ब्राह्मणानामदर्शनात् ।

श्रेयान्पराजयस्तेभ्यो न जयो जयतां वर ॥

the high standard imposed by Aryan civilisation.<sup>29</sup> And therefore Māhiṣmatī of Nīla was a city of a non-Aryan people and could not be the city of a king whose righteous deeds and famous sacrifices were the admiration of posterity.<sup>30</sup>

#### IV

There was also a third city by name Māhiṣmatī founded by Mucukunda, the son of Māndhātā, at a place where the Vindhya and the Rkṣa mountains meet.<sup>31</sup> That city appears to have disappeared altogether.

29. *Mbh.*, VIII. 44.43 :

कारस्करान्माहिषकान् कालिङ्गान्केरलांस्तथा ।

कर्कोटकान्वीरकांश्च दुर्धर्मांश्च विवर्जयेत् ॥

30. Cf. *Mbh.*, 49.35-37 ; XIII. 152.3-11 ; *Matsya*, 43.20-25 ; *Vāyu*, II. 32.17-20 ; *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 19.27-28 ; *Hari*, I. 33.8-25 ; *Padma*, V. 12.123.126.

तेन सप्तसु द्वीपेषु सप्त यज्ञशतानि वै ।

प्राप्तानि विधिना राज्ञा श्रूयन्ते जनमेजय ॥ हरि. १.३३.१६. ॥

सर्वे यज्ञा महाबाहो तस्यासन्भूरिदक्षिणाः ।

सर्वे काञ्चनयूपाश्च सर्वे काञ्चनवेदयः ॥ १७ ॥

नारद उवाच ।

न नूनं कार्तवीर्यस्य गतिं यास्यन्ति पार्थिवाः ।

यज्ञैर्दानैस्तपोभिर्वा विक्रमेण श्रुतेन च ॥ २० ॥

31. *Hari*, II. 38.19-20 :

महाश्मसंघातवती ऋक्षवन्तमुपाश्रिता ।

माहिष्मती नाम पुरी प्रकाशमुपयास्यति ॥

उभयोर्विन्ध्ययोः पादे नगयोस्तां महापुरीम् ।

मध्ये निवेशयामास श्रिया परमया वृताम् ॥

There is also no doubt that during the post-*Mahābhārata* and Buddhistic times there was a town somewhere to the south of the Vindhya which was called by the name of Māhiṣmatī or Maheshmati. It also appears that on account of the identity of names those who have sought to locate Māhiṣmatī have naturally found great difficulty in finding out a suitable place which can answer the description of the three Māhiṣmatīs, one of Kārtavīrya, another of Nīla and a third mentioned in *Mahāvanso*.<sup>32</sup> Whether the two cities last mentioned were situated on the site of Mandla or of Chauli-Maheshwar or of Mandhata does not affect the question as to where Kārtavīrya's capital lay.<sup>33</sup>

## V

But to turn to the founder of the city. Kārtavīrya led his conquering host against Rāvaṇa and brought him

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32. Published by the University of Bombay, XII. 3,29 ; pp. 66, 68 ; FLEET, *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 425-447.

थेरं कस्मीरगन्धारं मज्झन्तिकमपेसयि ।

अपेसयि महादेवत्थेरं महिसमण्डलं ॥ महावंसो १२.३ ॥

33. It seems likely that after Paraśurāma destroyed Māhiṣmatī, the Bhārgavas established another city near the site and named it Bhṛgukaccha to glorify their ancestor. The late Mr. V. R. KARANDIKAR, Hon. Secretary of the Narmada Valley Research Board, who had appreciated the importance of the *Purāṇas* in unravelling ancient history, had commenced his investigations of identifying the Māhiṣmatī of Arjuna in the light of data supplied by the *Purāṇas*. In the first issue of "*Ancient India*" he indicated his preference for Choli on the strength of the description of Māhiṣmatī in the *Rāmāyaṇa* ; unfortunately, he died before he could pursue his studies of the Narmada Valley civilisation any further.

in captivity to his capital.<sup>34</sup> In one of his numerous raids on the territories in the north occupied by the Yayāti group of tribes he also came across Āpava Vasiṣṭha, burnt his hermitage and was cursed.<sup>35</sup> Later in life, the Haihaya conqueror proud of his overpowering might, tried to overcome Āryāvarta where tribes of the Inner Band small in number but greater in culture contested with each other for supremacy. The Bhrgus claiming descent from Cyavana who had been driven out of their settlements on the banks of Narmadā by Kṛtavīrya, the father of Arjuna, had also settled there.<sup>36</sup> Ūrva was one of them. His son Ṛcika styled

34. *Matsya*, 43.37-39 ; *Vāyu*, II. 32.35-36 ; *Padma*, V. 12.136-138 ; *Hari*, I. 33.34-35 ; also, *Raghuvamśa*, VI. 38-40.

एवं बद्धा धनुर्ज्यायामुत्सिक्तं पञ्चभिः शरैः ।

लङ्कायां मोहयित्वा तु सबलं रावणं बलात् ॥ मत्स्य. ४३.३७ ॥

निर्जित्य बद्धा चानीय माहिष्मत्यां बबन्ध च ॥ ३८ ॥

35. *Matsya*, 43.41-43 ; 44.12-14 ; *Vāyu*, II. 32.44-47 ; 33.13 ; *Padma*, V. 12.141-143 ; *Hari*, I. 33.42-45 ; *Mbh.*, XII. 49.41-43, *Matsya* (68.9) however wrongly calls him Cyavana.

स शून्यमाश्रमं रम्यमापवस्य महात्मनः ।

ददाह पवनेनेद्धश्चित्रभानुः सहैहयः ॥ म.भा. १२.४९.४१ ॥

आपवस्तु ततो रोषाच्छशापार्जुनमच्युत ॥ ४२ ॥

जातमात्रं च तस्यापि यावत्पुत्रशतं तथा ।

च्यवनस्य तु शापेन विनाशमुपयास्यति ॥ मत्स्य. ६८.९ ॥

36. For the account given in this paragraph, vide *Mbh.*, I. 178; III. 115-117 ; XII. 49 ; XIII. 4 ; 52-56 ; etc. ; *Vāyu*, I. 29.62-88 ; 32.46-47 ; *Padma*, VI. 268 ; *Hari*, I. 27.16-41 ; etc. Dr. SUKTHANKAR has admirably presented the Bhrgu material in the *Mahābhārata* in his "Epic Studies (VI) : The Bhrgus and the Bhārata" (*Annals of Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, XVII, pp. 1-76).



‘ the son of Cyavana,’<sup>37</sup> a famous Ṛṣi and a great warrior skilled in archery, had by Satyavati the daughter of Gādhī or Gāthin, and sister of the famous Viśvāmitra, among others a son by name Jamadagni. He was also trained in arms and had married Reṇukā, the daughter of the king of Ayodhyā.<sup>38</sup> Arjuna raided Jamadagni’s hermitage, illtreated him and carried away his cattle. Jamadagni’s youngest son Rāma, furious at the offence offered to his venerable father, killed Arjuna. Arjuna’s sons retaliated by taking the life of Jamadagni.<sup>39</sup> Rāma

37. *Mbh.*, XIII. 4.8 :

तां वव्रे भार्गवः श्रीमांश्चयवनस्यात्मसम्भवः ।

ऋचीक इति विख्यातो विपुले तपसि स्थितः ॥

38. *Mbh.*, III. 115.20 ; XII. 49.7,29 ; III. 116.2.

कान्यकुब्जे महानासीत्पार्थिवः सुमहाबलः ।

गाधीति विश्रुतो लोके वनवासं जगाम ह ॥ म.भा.३.११५. २० ॥

तस्य कन्याऽभवद्राजन्नाम्ना सत्यवती प्रभो ।

तां गार्धिर्गुपुत्राय सर्विकाय ददौ प्रभुः ॥ म.भा.१२.४९.७ ॥

ततः सत्यवती पुत्रं जनयामास भार्गवम् ।

तपस्यभिरतं शान्तं जमदग्निं यतव्रतम् ॥ म.भा.१२.४९.२९ ॥

स प्रसेनजितं राजन्नधिगम्य नराधिपम् ।

रेणुकां वरयामास स च तस्मै ददौ नृपः ॥ म.भा.३.११६.२ ॥

39. *Mbh.*, III, 116. 19,21 ; XII. 49.48-50.

अथानूपपतिर्वीरः कार्तेवीर्योऽभ्यवर्तत ॥ म.भा.३.११६.१९ ॥

प्रमथ्य चाश्रमात्तस्माद्धोमधेनोस्तथा बलात् ।

जहार वत्सं कोशन्त्या बभञ्ज च महाद्रुमान् ॥ म.भा.३.११६.२१ ॥

ततोऽर्जुनस्य बाहूस्तांश्छित्वा रामो रषान्वितः ।

तं भ्रमन्तं ततो वत्सं जामदग्न्यः स्वमाश्रमम् ॥ म. भा. १२.४९.४८ ॥

(Continued on next page)

thereupon as the head of the Bhrgus, and supported evidently by the whole strength of Āryāvarta,<sup>40</sup> declared war against Arjuna's sons, destroyed the Haihaya power, razed Māhiṣmatī to the ground, and established himself in Śūrpāraka.<sup>41</sup>

Paraśurāma according to the *Purāṇas* destroyed the

(Continued from previous page)

प्रत्यानयत राजेन्द्र तेषामन्तःपुरात्प्रभुः ।

अर्जुनस्य सुतास्ते तु सम्भूयाबुद्धयस्तदा ॥ ४९ ॥

गत्वाऽऽश्रममसम्बुद्धा जमदग्नेर्महात्मनः ।

अपातयन्त भल्लप्रैः शिरः कायान्नराधिप ॥ ५० ॥

40. Kānyakubja and Ayodhyā being allied by marital relations naturally helped the Bhrgus. For the inference that the whole Āryāvarta raised its arms against the Haihayas, cf. *Mbh.*, V. 156. 4-9; and also footnote 44 *infra*

41. *Padma*, VI, 268.23-78; *Mbh.*, III. 85.43; 88.12; VII.70; IX. 49.7-10; XII. 49.64-68; XIII. 62.34; 137.12 etc.; *Hari*, I. 41.111-120. Some accounts, however, state that Rāma retired to Mahendra.—Cf. *Mbh.*, III. 85.16; 87.22; 117.14; *Hari*, I. 41.119; *Padma*, I. 39.14. 'नरनारायणाश्रम' is mentioned as the place where Rāma retired in the *Padma* (VI. 268.78).

त्रिःसप्तकृत्वः पृथिवीं कृत्वा निःक्षत्रियां प्रभुः ।

दक्षिणामश्वमेधान्ते कश्यपायाददत्ततः । म. भा. १२.४९.६४ ॥

स क्षत्रियाणां शेषार्थं करेणोद्दिश्य कश्यपः ।

सुक्प्रग्रहवता राजस्ततो वाक्यमथाब्रवीत् ॥ ६५ ॥

गच्छ तीरं समुद्रस्य दक्षिणस्य महासुने ।

न ते मद्रिषये राम वस्तव्यमिह कर्हिचित् ॥ ६६ ॥

ततः शूर्पारकं देशं सागरस्तस्य निर्ममे ।

सहसा जामदग्न्यस्य सोऽपरान्तमहीतलम् ॥ ६७ ॥

स प्रदाय महीं तस्मै कश्यपाय महात्मने ।

अस्मिन्महेन्द्रे शैलेन्द्रे वसत्यमितविक्रमः ॥ म. भा. ३. ११७.१४ ॥

Kṣatriayas twenty-one times and rid the world of them.<sup>42</sup>

The story as given in *Droṇaparva* indicates the place occupied by Rāma in the imagination of *Purāṇic* authors.<sup>43</sup>

The Outer Band Haihayas were pushed further away by the aggressive might of the Aryans from the banks of Sarasvatī and Drṣadvatī ; the bounds of Āryāvarta which were uptill then co-extensive only with a part of modern Punjab receded to Narmadā on the south and possibly Ayodhyā in the east.<sup>44</sup> At the end of a long and glorious career of conquest this mighty Bhrgu true to Brahmanical ideals gave up the world he had conquered by way of gift to Kaśyapa and retired to Śūrpāraka.<sup>45</sup>

As a result of these incessant wars the whole of India north of Narmadā came to be ruled by Aryan kings. Paraśurāma was looked upon as the father of the martial art ; as the embodiment of triumphant Āryāvarta ; later tradition made him immortal, attributed to him

42. *Padma*, VI. 268.76 ; *Hari*, I. 41.115-116 ; *Mbh.*, I. 64.4 ; 104.4 ; III. 117.9 ; VII. 70.20 ; VIII. 31.46 ; XII. 48.9-10 ; 49.64 ; XIII. 142.76 ;

त्रिःसप्तकृत्वः पृथिवीं कृत्वा निःक्षत्रियां पुरा ।

जामदग्न्यस्तपस्तेपे महेन्द्रे पर्वतोत्तमे ॥ म. भा. १.६४.४ ॥

43. *Mbh.*, VII. 70.1-23.

44. Pratardana of Kāśī (*supra*, Lecture II, footnote 47) Sagara of Ayodhyā (*infra*, footnote 50) and probably Karandhama, Avikṣit and Marutta of Vaiśālī (*Mārkaṇḍeya*, Adhy. 121-131) were mainly instrumental in checking the onrush of the Haihayas, in destroying their power and in extending the region of Āryāvarta beyond the Punjab. Vide also footnote 40 above.

45. Cf. footnote 41.

legends far removed in time from the days of Arjuna and Jamadagni and raised him to Godhood as the sixth incarnation of Viṣṇu<sup>46</sup> and we can gather the impression which later generations had of this tremendously powerful man, august and invincible, overshadowing all martial exploits from the picture which Vālmīki draws of him.

Then the king (Daśaratha) saw Bhārgava, the son of Jamadagni, the destroyer of kings; dreadful in his matted locks; invincible as Mount Kailāsa; difficult to face like the fires of final destruction; luminous with numberless lights; invisible to the ordinary eye. He bore the axe on his shoulder, and his bow flashing like lightning shafts. Holding aloft a fearful arrow, like Siva bent on the destruction of the demon, he came.<sup>47</sup>

The most exaggerated description of his exploits is found in the *Droṇaparva* of *Mahābhārata*.<sup>48</sup>

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46. *Matsya*, 47.244; *Vāyu*, II. 36.90; *Padma*, VI. 268.12-15; *Hari*, I. 41.120; *Mbh.*, XII. 339.84,103-4.

एकोनविंश्यां त्रेतायां सर्वक्षत्रान्तकृद्भिः ।

जामदग्न्यस्तथा षष्ठो विश्वामित्रपुरःसरः । मत्स्य. ४७.२४४ ॥

47. *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bālakāṇḍa*, 74.17-19 :

ददर्श भीमसंकाशं जटामण्डलधारिणम् ॥ १७ ॥

भार्गवं जामदग्नेयं राजा राजविमर्दनम् ।

कैलासमिव दुर्धर्षं कालाग्रिमिव दुःसहम् ॥ १८ ॥

ज्वलन्तमिव तेजोभिर्दुर्निरीक्ष्यं पृथग्जनैः ।

स्कन्धे चासज्ज्य परशुं धनुर्विद्युद्गणोपमम् ।

प्रगृह्य शरमुग्रं च त्रिपुरघ्नं यथा शिवम् ॥ १९ ॥

48. *Mbh.*, VII.70. The above passage is from M. N. DUTT's translation of the *Mahābhārata*, *Droṇa Parva*, Adhy. 70, st. 4-14, 18-22, p. 100.

Single-handed and with a single bow, he vanquished and despatched to the abode of Death, four and sixty times ten thousand Kṣatriyas.

In that slaughter were included fourteen thousand Kṣatriyas all contemnors of the Brāhmaṇas. Then again he slew many Kṣatriyas of the Dantakrula country.

He slew a thousand Kṣatriyas with his bludgeon, a thousand with his sword and a thousand of the Haihayas also by hanging them.

Heroes with their chariots, steeds and elephants, lay slain on the field of battle, by the intelligent son of Jamadagni, who had been exasperated by the death of his father.

Then Rāma slew with his axe ten thousand Kṣatriyas. He then could not bear the hot words uttered by his enraged adversaries.

When the twice born sects exclaimed saying 'O Rāma, the descendant of Bhṛgu's race,' then the puissant son of Jamadagni proceeding against the Kāśmīras, the Daradas, the Kuntis, the Kṣudrakas, the Mālavas, the Aṅgas, the Vaṅgas, the Kālīṅgas, the Videhas, the Tāmraliptakas, the Rakṣovaśas, the Vitahotras, the Trigarttas and the Mārtikāvartas, the Śivis and other kingly races, thousands in number, inhabiting various countries, slew them all with his arrows of exceeding sharpness.

Going from country to country, he slew thousands and crores of Kṣatriyas creating a deluge of blood and filling many lakes with it, which was as red as Indra-Gopakas or the wild fruit known as Vandhujiva—and also bringing under his sway all the eighteen divisions of the earth, that descendant of Bhṛgu's race,

Celebrated a hundred holy sacred sacrifices in which he gave away profuse sacrificial presents.

That lord, that hero having relieved the earth, for twenty-one times, of her burdens of the Kṣatriya population and having celebrated a hundred sacrifices, gave her away to the Brāhmaṇas.

The earth with her seven grand divisions was bestowed by him upon the twice-born son of Marīca (Kaśyapa). Then the latter addressed Rāma saying—"Go you out of this Earth, at my command."

At the words of Kaśyapa, that best of warriors obedient to the Brāhmaṇa's command, caused, by the fall of his arrows, the very ocean to roll back.

Then going to the foremost of mountains, namely, the Mahendra mountain, he continued to live there. Even that enhancer of the glory of the Bhṛgu race, that one endowed with desirable qualities,

That son of Jamadagni, of illustrious renown, and great effulgence, had to die.

## VI

The Bhṛgu-Haihaya conflict does not seem to have ended with Paraśurāma. The sway of the Haihaya-Tālajaṅghas stretched from the Gulf of Cambay to the Ganges-Jumna doab and thence to Benares.<sup>49</sup> A later tradition has been mixed up with this and the allies of the Haihayas are described to be Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas from the north-west.<sup>50</sup> But

49. Cf. *Mbh.*, XIII. 30.11 :

स वीतहव्यदायादैरागत्य पुरुषर्षभ ।

गङ्गायमुनयोर्मध्ये संग्रामे विनिपातितः ॥

50. For the alliance of Haihaya-Tālajaṅghas with Śakas, Yavanas, etc., and the account of Bāhu, Aurva and Sagara dealt with in this paragraph, vide : *Vāyu*, II. 26.120-143 ; *Padma*, VI. 21.12-34 ; *Harī*, I. 13.30-34 ; 14.3-21 ; *Mbh.*, III. 106.7-8 ; *Rāmāyaṇa*, I. 70.26-37 ; II. 110.15-24. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, however, calls Bāhu, Asita (I. 70.29 ; II. 110.15), and names the Bhārgava (who was Aurva Agni) as Cyavana (I. 70.31, 36 ; II. 110.19).

बाहोर्व्यसनिनस्तात हृतं राज्यमभूत्किल ।

हैहयैस्तालजङ्घैश्च शकैः सार्द्धं विशाम्पते ॥ हरि. १.१४.३ ॥

यवनाः पारदाश्चैव काम्बोजाः पङ्कवाः खसाः ।

एते ह्यपि गणाः पञ्च हैहयार्थं पराक्रमन् ॥ ४ ॥

हृतराज्यस्तदा राजा स वै बाहुर्वनं ययौ ॥ ५ ॥

पत्नी तु यादवी तस्य सगर्भा वृष्टतोऽन्वगात् ॥ ६ ॥

(Continued on next page)

apart from the chronological lapse, the Haihayas drove out Bāhu, the king of Ayodhyā, who took refuge in the hermitage of Aurva Bhārgava whose personal name was Agni. Evidently he was the descendant or successor of Paraśurāma, Paraśurāma himself being an Aurva according to some *Purāṇas*.<sup>51</sup> Bāhu's queen gave birth to a son, by name Sagara. Aurva brought him up and having destroyed the Haihayas installed him as the king of Ayodhyā. Aurva is reported to have destroyed them with his weapon which is described as Jāmadagneyāstra. This tradition shows that the Haihayas had conquered upto Ayodhyā and the famous line of Ayodhyā kings owed their rule to the Bhṛgu-Haihaya conflict.

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सा तु भर्तुश्चितां कृत्वा वने तामध्यरोहत ।  
 और्वस्तां भार्गवस्तात कारुण्यात्समवारयत् ॥ ७ ॥  
 और्वस्तु जातकर्मादि तस्य [ सगरस्य ] कृत्वा महात्मनः ।  
 अध्याप्य वेदशास्त्राणि ततोऽन्नं प्रत्यपादयत् ॥ ९ ॥  
 आग्नेयं तु महाघोरममरैरपि दुःसहम् ।  
 स तेनास्त्रबलेनाजौ बलेन च समन्वितः ॥ १० ॥  
 हैहयान्निजघानाशु क्रुद्धो रुद्रः पशूनिव ॥ ११ ॥

51. Cf. *Mbh.*, XIII. 153.11 :

दण्डकानां महद्राज्यं ब्राह्मणेन विनाशितम् ।  
 तालजङ्घं महाक्षत्रभौर्वेणकेन नाशितम् ॥

## LECTURE IV

### THE BHRĠGU-HAIHAYA CONFLICT

Facts from the *Purāṇas*—Bhr̥gu-Haihaya conflict in Gujarāta—Vedic evidence—Vītahavya or Sṛñjaya—Vītahavya, same as Haihayas—Jamadagni, historical person—Vedic version of the conflict—Conflict associated with *Dāśarājña*—The Battle of Ten Kings, an aspect of Haihaya Bhr̥gu conflict—Synchronizes close of the *Mantra* period.

From the testimony of the *Purāṇas* the following facts may be considered to have been historical :

- (a) Arjuna-Kārtavīrya led the Haihaya confederacy of tribes to the river Narmadā and founded Māhiṣmatī near modern Broach as the capital of Anūpadeśa.<sup>1</sup>
- (b) He raided Āryāvarta where lived the *pañca-janāḥ*, the Midland Aryans. Led by the Bhr̥gus, the Midland Aryans worsted Arjuna Kārtavīrya, raided Anūpadeśa and destroyed his capital.<sup>2</sup>
- (c) Paraśurāma, the chief of the Bhr̥gus settled on the banks of the Narmadā and on the sea-board to the south upto Bombay.<sup>3</sup>

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1. *Supra*, note 50, Lecture II, and note 1, Lecture III ; *Matsya*, 43.13-29 ; *Vāyu*, II, 32.8-26 ; *Padma*, V, 12.117-130 ; *Harī*, I, 33.8-26.

2. *Supra*, notes 34-36, Lecture III ; *Matsya* 43.40-44 ; *Vāyu*, II, 26.46-47 ; *Padma*, V, 12.140-143 ; *Harī*, I, 33.44-47.

3. *Supra*, note 41, Lecture III.



## I

The question next to be considered is :

- (a) Whether there is any corroborative evidence to support the historicity of the Haihaya-Bhṛgu conflict ?
- (b) Whether such conflict and the Aryan occupation which followed it could be located in modern Gujarāta ?

## II

Several facts point to the conclusion that the conflict or at least one of its final stages took place in modern Gujarāta and that, as a consequence, both Gujarāta and

THE LOCATION  
OF THE  
CONFLICT.

Konkan were occupied by the Aryans.

1. As already shown, Kārtavīrya's Māhiṣmatī can only be on the banks of Narmadā about the place where stands modern Broach, and it was destroyed by the Bhṛgu.

2. Śūrpāraka where Paraśurāma settled was the sea-board tract of which Sopara, near Bassein, is the remnant.<sup>4</sup>

Then the sea brought forth the land called Śūrpāraka at the end of the earth for the sake of the son of Jamadagni.<sup>5</sup>

3. According to the *Purāṇas*, Bhṛgu practised austerities at Daśāśvamedha, (a sacred place still near Broach) for a thousand divine years, and thereafter it

4. BURGESS, *Ind. Ant.*, 1, p. 321 ; *Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kaccha*, p. 131 ; DEY, *Geographical Dictionary*, pp. 197-198.

5. *Mbh.*, XII. 49.62 :

ततः शूर्पारकं देशं सागरस्तस्य निर्ममे ।

सहसा जामदग्न्यस्य सोऽपरान्तमहीतलम् ॥

came to be known as Bhṛgutīrtha.<sup>6</sup> Bharukaccha (a variant of Bhṛgukaccha) itself is referred to in *Mahābhārata*.<sup>7</sup>

4. The *Āśrama* of Cyavana reputed to be in the Vaidūrya mountain was on the banks of Narmadā.<sup>8</sup>

6. Cf. *Matsya*, 193.23-24, 59-60. The mouth of Narmadā is called Jāmadagnya,—*Matsya*, 194.34-35.

दशाश्वमेधात्पश्चिमतो भृगुर्ब्राह्मणसत्तमः ॥ मत्स्य. १९३.२३<sub>b</sub> ॥

दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रं तु ईश्वरं पर्युपासते ॥ २४<sub>a</sub> ॥

नर्मदायां स्थितं दिव्यं भृगुतीर्थं नराधिप ॥ ५९<sub>a</sub> ॥

ततो गच्छेच्च राजेन्द्र नर्मदोदधिसंगमम् ॥ १९४.३४<sub>b</sub> ॥

जामदग्न्यमिति ख्यातं सिद्धो यत्र जनार्दनः ॥ ३५<sub>a</sub> ॥

7. *Mbh.*, II. 51.10. MAJUMDAR SASTRI perhaps relying on PAR-GITER (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 339 n\*\*) is apparently right in stating that Bhṛgukaccha is “probably not mentioned in the epics” (*Cunningham*, p. 699). In Sanskrit and Pali, Bharukaccha is an obvious variant for Bhṛgukaccha. Curiously enough, none of the MSS of the *Mahābhārata* examined by the Bhandarkar Institute, according to Dr. SUKTHANKAR, the General Editor, reads ‘Bhṛgukaccha,’ and the reading “Bharukaccha” tentatively adopted by the Editor, Prof. EDGERTON, is in the words of the General Editor, ‘quite uncertain.’

बलिं च कृत्स्नमादाय भरुकच्छनिवासिनः ।

उपनिन्युर्महाराज हयान्गान्धारदेशजान् ॥ म.भा. २.५१.१० ॥

8. *Mbh.*, III. 121.19,21,22.

देवानामेति कौन्तेय तथा राज्ञां सलोकताम् ।

वैदूर्यपर्वतं दृष्ट्वा नर्मदामवतीर्य च ॥ १९ ॥

एष शर्यातियज्ञस्य देशस्तात प्रकाशते ।

साक्षाद्यत्रापिबत्सोममश्विभ्यां सह कौशिकः ॥ २१ ॥

(Continued on next page)

5. Mārkaṇḍeya himself was of the Bhṛgu clan and had his home at Payoṣṇī,<sup>9</sup> identified with Purna, the tributary of Tapti together with the lower part of Tapti to which Purna continues.

6. The Bhṛgus also lived in the region on the north of Sahya mountain in which the river Godāvarī flowed.

Now along the northern half of the Sahya mountains, that region in which the river Godāvarī flows, is a delightful one compared even with the whole earth ; Govardhana is the charming city of the high-souled Bhārgava race.<sup>10</sup>

7. Even now Paraśurāma-kṣetra stands near Vajreshwari about 25 miles from Bassein.

8. The Bhārgava Brahmins who resided on the banks of the Narmadā and at Mandvi and Kamlej on

(Continued from previous page).

चुकोप भार्गवश्चापि महेन्द्रस्य महातपाः ।

संस्तम्भयामास च तं वासवं च्यवनः प्रभुः ।

सुकन्यां चापि भार्यां स राजपुत्रीमवाप्तवान् ॥ २२ ॥

9. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 4.23 ; 45.18 ; 52.14-17 ; *Mbh.*, III, 88.4-5 ; 183-61 ; 188.97 ; 190.2 ; 217.5-6 ; etc ; PARGITER, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, pp. viii, 19, 219, 262, 269, 299, etc.

मार्कण्डेयं महात्मानं पूर्वं भृगुकुलोद्ब्रह्म ।

तमहं पृष्ठवान् प्राप्य सन्देहान् भारतं प्रति ॥ मार्कण्डेय.४.२३ ॥

रम्यतीर्था बहुजला पयोष्णी द्विजसेविता ॥ म.भा.३.८८.४ b ॥

अपि चात्र महायोगी मार्कण्डेयो महायशः ।

अनुवंश्यां जगौ गाथां नृपस्य धरणीपतेः ॥ ५ ॥

10. PARGITER, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 310 ; *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 37.34-35.

सह्यस्य चोत्तरे यस्तु यत्र गोदावरी नदी ।

पृथिव्यामपि कृत्स्नायां स प्रदेशो मनोरमः ॥ ३४ ॥

गोवर्धनं पुरं रम्यं भार्गवस्य महात्मनः ॥ ३५ a ॥

the Tapti<sup>11</sup> trace their descent from Paraśurāma and so do the Brahmins of Konkan.<sup>11</sup>

9. Looking to the extent of Śūrpāraka, as given in the *Purāṇic* authorities, it is quite clear that it was a large tract with both the banks of Narmadā included in it.<sup>12</sup> If, therefore, Māhiṣmatī was near Broach and Anūpadeśa was the sea-board tract round about it, the whole of the tract must be inferred as absorbed in the Śūrpāraka occupied by the midland Aryans who migrated with Paraśurāma. No wonder that only some kingdom on the west coast known as the Anūpa survived at the time of the Pāṇḍavas.

### III.

It now becomes necessary to consider the evidence from the Vedic sources to find corroboration of this conflict.

The *Purāṇic* tradition referred to in the Second Lecture gives an indisputable synchronism.

11. Cf. *Bhāratavarṣiya Prācīna Caritra Kośa*, Poona, 1932, p. 401 ; Iravati KARVE, *Journ. Univ. Bom.*, Vol. 1, Part 1, p. 115.

12. *Mbh.*, III. 118.8-16 ; XIII. 25.50 ; PARGITER, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 338 n\*.

स तेन तीर्थेन तु सागरस्य

पुनः प्रयातः सह सोदरीयैः ।

द्विजैः पृथिव्यां प्रथितं महद्भिः—

स्तीर्थं प्रभासं समुपाजगाम ॥ म. भा. ३.११८.१५ ॥

नर्मदायामुपस्पृश्य तथा शूर्पारकोदके ।

एकपक्षं निराहरो राजपुत्रो विधीयते ॥ म. भा. १३.२५.५० ॥

Arjuna	Kārtavīrya	Jamadagni	Viśvāmitra
	Jayadhvaja	Paraśurāma	Sunaḥśepa
	Tālajaṅgha		
	Vitihotra or Vitahavya		

According to the *Purāṇic* authorities Jamadagni's mother and Viśvāmitra were sister and brother ; and Sunaḥśepa, adopted as a son by Viśvāmitra, was a Bhṛgu, and according to some *Purāṇas*, a brother of Jamadagni.<sup>13</sup>

Arjuna is not referred to at all by the *R̥gveda Samhitā*.<sup>14</sup> Vitahotra or Vitahavya, the descendant of Kārtavīrya, is perhaps the same Vitahavya, the prince, who according to *R̥gveda* was associated with Bharadvāja

13. *Vāyu*, II. 29.89-92 ; *Hari*, I. 27.13-44, 54-57 ; 32-52-53, 60-61 ; *Mbh.*, XII. 292.13.

स गाधिरभवद्राजा मघवान्कौशिकः स्वयम् ।

विश्वामित्रस्तु गाधेयो राजा विश्वरथस्तदा ॥ हरि. १.३२.५२ ॥

विश्वकृद्विश्वजिचैव तथा सत्यवती नृप ।

ऋचीकाज्जमदग्निस्तु सत्यवत्यामजायत ॥ ५३ ॥

और्वस्यैवमृचीकस्य सत्यवत्यां महामनाः ।

मदग्निस्तपोवीर्याज्जज्ञे ब्रह्मविदां वरः ।

मध्यमश्च शुनःशेफः शुनःपुच्छः कनिष्ठकः ॥ वायु. २.२९.८९ ॥

विश्वामित्रात्मजानां तु शुनःशेपोऽग्रजः स्मृतः ।

भार्गवः कौशिकत्वं हि प्राप्तः स मुनिसत्तमः ॥ हरि. १.२७.५४ ॥

14. *R̥gveda*, I. 122.5 refers to one Arjuna, who is said to be the husband of Ghoshā.—Cf. *Vedic Index*, I, p. 251.

आ वो रुवण्युमौशिजो हुवध्वै घोषेव शंसमर्जुनस्य नंशे ।

प्र वः पूष्णे दावन आँ अच्छा वोचेय वसुतातिमग्नेः ॥

and Sudās the hero of the Battle of Ten Kings.<sup>15</sup> The *Yajurveda Samhitās* know of a Vītahavya Śrāyasa ; and the *Vedic Index* considers him as the same or a descendant of the *Rgvedic* Vītahavya.<sup>16</sup> *Atharvaveda* however, is more illuminating. It refers to a Vītahavya as connected with the sage Jamadagni the Bhr̥gu.<sup>17</sup> The

15. Cf. *Rgveda*, VI. 15.2-3 ; VII. 19.3.

मित्रं न यं सुधितं भृगवो दधुर्वनस्पतावीड्यमूर्ध्वशोचिषं ।

स त्वं सुप्रीतो वीतहव्ये अद्भुतप्रशस्तिभिर्महयसे दिवे दिवे ॥ ६.१५.

२ ॥

स त्वं दक्षस्यावृको वृधो भूर्यः परस्यान्तरस्य तरुषः ।

रायः सूनो सहसो मर्त्येष्व्वा छर्दिर्यच्छ वीतहव्याय सप्रथो भरद्वाजाय

सप्रथः ॥ ६.१५.३ ॥

त्वं धृष्णो धृषता वीतहव्यं प्रावो विश्वाभिरुतिभिः सुदासं ।

प्र पौरुकुत्सि त्रसदस्युमावः क्षेत्रसाता वृत्रहत्येषु पूरं ॥ ७.१९.३ ॥

16. *Taitt. Sam.*, V. 6.5.3 ; *Kāṭhaka Sam.*, XXII. 3 ; *Pañc. Brū.*, XXV. 16.3 ; *Vedic Index*, II, p. 317.

...एतं वै पर आदणारः कक्षीवाँऔशिजो वीतहव्यः श्रायस—

स्त्रसदस्युः पौरुकुत्स्यः प्रजाकामा अचिन्वत...॥ तै. सं. ५.६.५.३ ॥

पर आह्वारस्त्रसदस्युः पौरुकुत्सो वीतहव्यः श्रायसः कक्षीवानौ—

शिजस्त एतत्प्रजातिकामाः सत्रायणमुपायँस्ते सहस्रं सहस्रं

पुत्रानपुष्यन्तेवं वाव ते सहस्रं पुत्रान्पुष्यन्ति य एतदुपयन्ति ॥ पं. ब्रा.

२५.१६.३ ॥

17. *Atharvaveda*, VI. 137.1 ; BLOOMFIELD, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XLII, p. 31. According to the *Vedic Index* (II. p. 316) however, this legend has no value.—Cf. BLOOMFIELD, *op. cit.*, p. 537.

यां जमदग्निरखनद् दुहित्रे केशवर्धनीम् ।

तां वीतहव्य आभरदसितस्य गृहेभ्यः ॥ अथर्व. ६.१३७.१ ॥

Vitahavya, is not only the name of an individual but of a tribe or family which was connected with Jama-dagni. This leaves no doubt that the Vitahavya was the Vedic variant of the *Purāṇic* Haihayas or an important tribe of the latter confederacy.<sup>18</sup>

Vitahavya, the prince, associated with Sudās was possibly the king of the Sṛñjaya tribe.<sup>19</sup> In any event it is clear that Sṛñjaya-Vitahavyas were allied tribes or one was the sub-section of the other.<sup>20</sup>

So far as the *Purāṇic* Jamadagni is concerned his identity with the Vedic Ṛṣi of the name and his historic existence are beyond question. He composed a hymn

18. The *Purāṇas* mention Vitahavyas (or Vitihotras) as constituting Haihayas [*Matsya*, 43.46-49 ; *Vāyu*, II. 32.49-52 ; *Padma*, V. 12.145-148 ; *Hari*, I. 33.49-52] and refer to their connection with the Bhṛgu including Jamadagni, Paraśurāma and Aurva [*Matsya*, 43 ; *Vāyu*, II. 26 ; 32 ; *Padma*, V. 12 ; VI. 21 ; 268 ; *Hari*, I, 13 ; 14 ; 33 ; etc.]. See also footnotes 40 and 48 in Lecture II and 39, 40, 42 and 50 in Lecture III above, where quotations have been given.

19. Cf. HILLEBRANDT, *Vedische Mythologie, Erster Band*, Breslau, 1891, p. 105 ; OLDENBERG, *ZDMG*, 42, p. 212.

20. *Rgveda*, VI. 15.2,3 ; 27.7 ; 47.22,25 ; *Atharvaveda*, V. 19.1 ; *Vedic Index*, II, p. 469. See also footnote 15 above for quotations.

यस्य गावावृषा सूयवस्यू अन्तरू षु चरतो रेरिहाणा ।

स सृजयाय तुर्वशं परादाद्वचीवतो दैववाताय शिक्षन् ॥ ऋ. ६.२७.७ ॥

महि राधो विश्वजन्यं दधानान्भरद्वाजान्सार्जयो अभ्ययष्ट ॥ ऋ. ६.

४७.२५ ॥

अतिमात्रमवर्धन्त नोदिव दिवमस्पृशन् ।

भृगुं हिंसित्वा सृजया वैतहव्याः पराभवन् ॥ अथर्व. ५.१९.१ ॥

in collaboration with Viśvāmitra.<sup>21</sup> In the *Atharva-veda*, the *Yajurveda Samhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* he is often mentioned as a venerable person, a friend of Viśvāmitra and a rival of Vasiṣṭha.<sup>22</sup> He was the Adhvaryu priest at the sacrifice of Śunaḥśepa where Viśvāmitra was the presiding figure.<sup>23</sup>

It is undisputed that Paraśurāma was a Jāmadagnya. The name of Rāma does not appear in the *Rgveda Samhitā* except once.<sup>24</sup> This reference can be to no other

21. *Rgveda*, X. 167.4 :

प्रसूतो भक्षमकरं चरावपि स्तोमं चेमं प्रथमः सूरिदन्मृजे ।

सुते सातेन यद्यागमं वां प्रति विश्वामित्रजमदग्नी दमे ॥

22. *Atharvaveda*, II. 32.3 ; IV. 29.3 ; V. 28.7 ; VI. 137.1 ; etc ; *Kāṭhaka Sam.*, XVI. 19 ; XX. 9 ; *Vāj. Sam.*, III. 62 ; XIII. 56 ; *Taitt. Sam.*, II. 2.12.4 ; III. 1.7.3 ; V. 2.10.5 ; V. 4.10.3 ; *Sat. Brā.*, XIII. 2.214 ; *Pañc. Brā.*, XIII. 5.15 ; XXII. 7.2 ; *Jaim. Up. Brā.*, III. 3.11 ; IV. 3.1 ; etc.

...विश्वामित्रजमदग्नी वसिष्ठेनास्पर्वेता २...॥ तै. सं. ३.१.७.५ ;

५.४.११.३ ॥

...प्रजापतिर्वै जमदग्निः सोऽश्वमेधः स्वयैवैनं देवतया

समर्धयति तस्माज्जामदग्नीभिरेवाप्रीणीयात् ॥ श. ब्रा. १३.२.२.१४ ॥

एतेन वा इन्द्र इन्द्रकोशे विश्वामित्रजमदग्नी इमा गाव इत्यकोशत् पशूनामवर्धयै क्रोशं कियते ॥ पञ्च. ब्रा. १३.५.१५ ॥

अथ हैनं जमदग्निरुपनिषसादाऽऽयुरेतदुक्थमिति ॥ जै. उ. ब्रा.

३.३.११ ॥

23. *Ait. Brā.*, VII. 16 :

तस्य ह विश्वामित्रो होतासीजमदग्निरध्वर्युर्वसिष्ठो ब्रह्मायास्य उद्गाता ।

24. *Rgveda*, X. 93.14 :

प्र तदुःशीमे पृथवाने वेने प्र रामे वोचमसुरे मघवत्सु ।

ये युत्काय पञ्च शतास्मयु पथा विश्राव्येषां ॥



person than Rāma.<sup>25</sup> The verse runs according to translators rather incoherently, but there is no doubt that the reference cannot be to Rāma the son of Daśaratha because he is decidedly post-Vedic. It is also material to know that Prthu son of Vena, and Rāma appear in the same order in this verse as in the story of the sixteen kings in the *Droṇa Parva* of *Mahābhārata*.<sup>26</sup> A more important corroboration of the Bhṛgu-Haihaya conflict however is found in the *Atharvaveda*.<sup>27</sup>

(The Brāhmaṇa's) tongue turns into a bow-string, his voice into the neck of an arrow ; his windpipe, his teeth are bedaubed with holy fire : with these the Brāhmaṇa strikes those who revile the gods, by means of bows that have the strength to reach the heart, discharged by the gods.

The Brāhmaṇas have sharp arrows, are armed with missiles, the arrow which they hurl goes not in vain ; pursuing him with their holy fire and their wrath, even from afar, do they pierce him.

25. MR. C. V. VAIDYA (*History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. 1, part 1, p. 99) and DR. H. C. RAY CHAUDHURI (*Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Ed., p. 87) take the reference as applicable to Dāśarathi Rāma.

26. *Droṇaparva*, Adhyāyas 55-71. The story of Prthu Vainya occurs in Adhy. 69 and that of Rāma Jāmadagnya in Adhy. 70.

27. *Atharvaveda*, V. 18.8-10 ; V. 19.1 (quoted above in footnote 20).

जिह्वा ज्या भवति कुल्मलं वाङ्माडीका दन्तास्तपसाभिदिग्धाः ।

तेभिर्ब्रह्मा विध्यति देवपीयून् हृद्ग्लैर्धनुभिर्देवजूतैः ॥ ५.१८.८ ॥

तीक्ष्णेषवो ब्राह्मणा हेतिमन्तो यामस्यन्ति शङ्ख्यां ३ न सा मृषा ।

अनुहाय तपसा मन्युना चोत द्रादव भिन्दन्त्येनम् ॥ ५.१८.९ ॥

ये सहस्रमराजन्नासन् दशशता उत ।

ते ब्राह्मणस्य गां जग्ध्वा वैतहव्याः पराभवन् ॥ ५.१८.१० ॥

They who ruled over a thousand were themselves ten hundred, the Vitahavyas, when they devoured the cow of the Brāhmaṇa, perished.<sup>28</sup>

Beyond measure, they waxed strong, just fell short of touching the heavens. When they infringed upon Bhr̥gu they perished, the Sṛñjaya Vitahavyas.<sup>29</sup>

The facts, therefore, emerge clear. The Vitahavya—the individual—and Jamadagni were contemporaries and at one time associated with one another. The Sṛñjaya Vitahavyas were one tribe or allied tribes. They were numerous ; they in their pride destroyed the cows of the Bhr̥gu, and in their turn were destroyed by the valorous Bhr̥gu. And so we get a complete Vedic version of the great war between the Haihayas and the Bhr̥gu.

The disaster which overtook the Sṛñjayas is confirmed by other *Samhitās* also.<sup>30</sup>

The testimony of the Vedic and *Purāṇic* sources, therefore, establishes these facts :

- (i) The Vedic Sṛñjaya Vitahavyas were the same as the *Purāṇic* Haihayas. They came into conflict with Bhr̥gu in and after the lifetime

28. BLOOMFIELD, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

29. BLOOMFIELD, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

30. *Taitt. Sam.* VI. 6.2.2-3 ; *Kāthaka Sam.* XII. 3 :

...वासिष्ठो ह सात्यहव्यो देवभागं पप्रच्छ यत्सृञ्जयान्बहुयाजिनोऽयीयजो  
यज्ञे ( २ ) यज्ञं प्रत्यतिष्ठिषा ३ यज्ञपता ३ विति स होवाच यज्ञपता-  
विति सत्याद्वै सृञ्जयाः पराबभूवुरिति होवाच...॥ तै. सं. ६.६.२.

२-३ H

...स इदं सर्वमत्येत्येतेन वै सृञ्जया अयजन्त त इदं सर्वमत्यायंस्त-  
देनान्मुहुः प्रयुज्यमानमवाधूनुत तस्मान्न मुहुः प्रयोज्यं...॥ काठक सं.

१२.३॥

of Jamadagni and were ultimately worsted by the Aurva Bhṛgu.<sup>31</sup>

- (ii) The Sṛñjaya Vītahavyas were allies of Sudās and took his side in the *Dāśarājña*.<sup>32</sup>
- (iii) The Aikṣvākus of whom Purukutsa, the foe of Sudās, was the leader were worsted by Tṛtsu and Vītahavya-Sṛñjayas led by Sudās.<sup>33</sup> The Aikṣvāku line was however re-established with the aid of Aurva the Bhṛgu. Purukutsa's line was continued by Kuru, who took the patronymic of Pūru.<sup>34</sup>

31. Cf. *Atharvaveda*, V. 18.8-10, 19.1 (quoted above) with the cow-motif in *Mbh.*, III. 116.19-29 ; 117.1-9 ; XII. 49.46-54 ; referred to also in *Padma*, VI. 268.23-71, where the cow is taken to be 'Surabhi.' See note 39, Lecture III, for quotations. For annihilation by Aurva Bhṛgu, vide *Vāyu*, II. 26.134-143 ; *Padma*, VI. 21.28-35 ; *Hari*, I.14.7-11 and note 50, Lecture III, for quotation.

सृष्ट्वां चकार पापात्मा तस्यां गवि स दुर्मतिः ।

अयाचत् सुरभिं तत्र जमदग्निं नृपोत्तमः ॥ पद्म. ६.२६८.३० ॥

32. Cf. *Rgveda*, VI. 15.2-3 ; VI. 27.7 ; VII. 19.3 ; *Vedic Index*, II, p. 469 ; note 15 *supra* for quotations.

यस्य गावावरुषा सूयवस्यू अन्तरू षु चरता रेरिहाणा ।

स सृज्याय तुर्वशं परादाद्वृचीवतो दैववाताय शिक्षन् ॥ ६.२७.७ ॥

33. *Rgveda*, I. 130.7 ; IV. 42.8 ; VII. 8.4 ; VII. 18.4,13.

प्रप्रायमग्निर्भरतस्य श्रृण्वे वि यत्सूर्यो न रोचते बृहद्भाः ।

अभि यः पूरं पृतनासु तस्यौ युतानो दैव्यो अतिथिः शुशोच ॥ ७.८.

४ ॥

वि सद्यो विश्वा दृहितान्येषामिन्द्रः पुरः सहसा सप्त दर्दः ।

व्यानवस्य तृत्स्वे गयं भाग्जेष्म पूरं विदथे सृध्रवाचं ॥ ७.८.१३ ॥

34. For restoration by Aurva Bhṛgu, see *Vāyu*, II.126-143 ; *Padma*, VI. 21.19-35 ; *Hari*, I. 13.32-34 ; 14.7-21 ; and note 50, Lecture III, for quotations. For Kuru, see *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 167,

(Continued on next page)

- (iv) These wars were continued after the close of the *Mantra* period but before the *Atharva Veda* was finally redacted.

In view of these facts the persistent tradition about the wars of Rāma Jāmadagnya can be definitely considered to have a historic foundation.

Vitahavya and Śrñjayas were no doubt associated with Sudās. Jamadagni was in battle and song the comrade of Viśvāmitra who guided the opposing forces, perhaps with Kutsa of the Pūrus as the leader. The war which thus began in Āryāvarta between Sudās and Purukutsa and their respective allies was not confined to Āryāvarta. Outside it was waged between the Haihaya-Vitahavya Śrñjaya of the Outer Band and the Pūrus and Bharatas of the Inner Band led by the Bhṛgu. In the *Purāṇic* language it was fought between Arjuna and Rāma.

The period between the Battle of Ten Kings and the close of the *Samhitā* period which possibly came to an end as a result of these wars cannot extend beyond a single lifetime. Vasiṣṭha and his grandson Parāśara were both contemporaries of Sudās, and Kavaśa Ailūṣa who, with the Druhyu king was overthrown by the Tṛtsus, sang the hymn in favour of Kuruśravaṇa Trāsadyava.<sup>35</sup> This would accord with the *Purāṇic* tra-

(Continued from previous page)

170 ; II, p. 12 ; and footnote 23, Lecture I. Cf. *Rgveda*, X. 33.4.

कुरुश्रवणमावृणि राजानं त्रासदस्यवं ।

मंहिष्ठं वाघतामृषिः ॥ ऋ १०.३३.४ ॥

35. Cf. *Rgveda*, VII. 18.21,12.

प्र ये गृहादममदुस्त्वाया पराशराः शतयातुर्वसिष्ठः ।

न ते भोजस्य सख्यं मृषन्ताधा सूरिभ्यः सुदिना व्युच्छान् ॥ ७.१८. २१॥

(Continued on next page)

dition that all these wars took place during the span of a single long life, as attributed to Rāma. And as a result of these wars the Tr̥tsus were merged in the Bharatas who later came to claim descent from Pūrus, to which tribe Purukutsa belonged; became merged with the Kuru-Pañcālas and the name was ultimately retained as the name of the royal family of the Kurus, who claimed to be Pūrus.<sup>36</sup> Thus Viśvāmitra triumphed after his death. Śakti, Vasiṣṭha's son, was destroyed by Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni.<sup>37</sup> The Bharatas emerged successful; and the different tribes which followed Sudās to battle were absorbed in their fold.<sup>38</sup>

The Inner Band Aryans with their martial and cultural strength spread upto the banks of the Narmadā; political conflicts between two races Aryans and non-Aryans were replaced by a hierarchy of castes based on the degree of Aryan culture absorbed by each.

The chronicles of the participants in *Dāśarājña* preserved by the *R̥gveda Samhitā* and the *Brāhmaṇas* read with the *Purāṇas*, therefore, yield the following synchronisms throwing light not only on the Bhṛgu-Haihaya conflict but on the individuals with whom the *Mantra* period closed.

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(Continued from previous page)

अध श्रुतं कवषं वृद्धमप्स्वनु दुह्युं नि वृणवज्रबाहुः ।

वृणाना अत्र सख्याय सख्यं त्वायन्तो ये अमदन्ननु त्वा ॥ ७.१८.१२ ॥

36. Cf. OLDENBERG, *Buddha*, pp. 404, 406 et seq; *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 75, 96-97, 322; II, p. 12.

37. *Jaim. Brā.*, II. 390 (*JAOS*, 18, p. 47); MACDONELL, *Sarvānukramaṇī*, pp. 107, 130-131.

38. *Vedic Index*, II, p. 96; OLDENBERG, *Buddha*, p. 408.

Tr̥tsu- (Bharatas?)	Tr̥tsus (?)	Jahnu- (Bharatas?)	Pūru-Ikṣvākus	Ikṣvākus	Vitahavyas (Sṛñjāyas)	Bhrgus
Vadhryāśva	V A S I S T H A	Kuśika	(Ikṣvāku)	(Ikṣvāku)	Somaka	Ūrva
Pijavana		Gādhin	Durgaha	Vedhas	Sṛñjaya	Ṛcika
Divodāsa		V I Ś V V A M I T R A	Girikṣit	Hariscandra	(Vitahavya)	J A M A D A G N I
S U D Ā S	Śakti		P U R U K U T S A	Rohita	Kṛtavīrya	A R J U N A
Parāśara		Śunahśepa (Devarāta)	Trasadasyu		(P A R A Ś U)	
			Tridhanva Mitrātithi			R Ā M A
			Trivṛṣṇa Kuruśravaṇa			
			Tryaruṇa Upamaśravas			

Close of the Mantra period,  
Vyāsa

Sagara

Agni (Aurva)

Thus the *Mantra* period closes with Kuruśravaṇa, the son of Mitratithi, the father of Upamaśravas, and Tryaruṇa, both descendants of Trasadasyu, and with Parāśara the grandson of Vasiṣṭha.<sup>39</sup> The *Mantras* do not know of the descendants of Tryaruṇa or of Vyāsa the son of Parāśara well known to *Purāṇic* tradition. The line showing the close of the *Mantra* period can therefore be drawn after Upamaśravas, Tryaruṇa and Parāśara to indicate the close of the *Mantra* period. Jama-dagni the comrade of Viśvāmitra is known but the exploits of his greater son are unrecorded. The period therefore can be considered to have come to an end about the end of the life of Sudās, Viśvāmitra and Jama-dagni, and perhaps during the lifetime of Rāma.

The Mānavas, Śaryātas, Bhṛguś and the Haihayas are on all hands Aryans.<sup>40</sup> That they were knit with the Tṛtsus and Bharatas, the Inner Band, by ties of kinship and religion is undoubted ; that they lacked the higher culture of the Tṛtsus and Bharatas in their outpost settlements on the Narmadā may be a legitimate inference from the fact that Bhṛguś, their priests, have not left the literary legacy which the Vasiṣṭhas and Viśvāmitras left and their Veda, *Atharvaveda* (Bhṛgu-aṅgīrasa), bears internal testimony of being intended for crude minds. This group may be termed, what GRIERSON calls Outer Band Aryans linguistically ;<sup>41</sup> but

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39. Cf. *Rgveda*, V. 27.1-3 ; also footnote 35 for references to Parāśara and others ; *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 327, 332-333.

अनस्वन्ता सत्पतिर्मांमहे मे गावा चेतिष्ठो असुरो मघोनः ।

त्रैवृष्णो अमे दशभिः सहस्रैर्वैश्वानर व्यरुणश्चिकेत ॥ ५. २७. १ ॥

40. *Pargiter*, however, takes Mānavas to be Dravidians, p. 295.

41. *Imp. Gaz. of India*, (1907), I, pp. 357-359.

that it formed an integral part of the Aryan world appears to be reasonably certain.

Perhaps these Aryan races led by Arjuna which were compact in their own way, were responsible for the homogeneity which has characterised Rajputana, Malva and Gujarāta throughout history.

All this evidence would however point to another very important conclusion that the races which were settled from the banks of Sarasvatī to those of the Narmadā were homogeneous in blood, language and culture long before the period of the *Ṛgveda Mantras*. Where is then the evidence on which the Aryan immigration into India north of Narmadā is founded? None, so far as these records are concerned.



## LECTURE V THE RESULT OF THE BHRĠU-HAIHAYA CONFLICT

Aryanisation of India—Social and cultural changes between the close of the *Mantra* period and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*—Janamejaya Pāriṣita : his identity—The Kuru race—*Mahābhārata* : a romance?—Historical incidents reconstructed between Sudās and Janamejaya—Historical events summarised—How *Mahābhārata* came to be written—Plea for an Indian outlook on Indian history.

As stated in the fourth lecture the final absorption of Gujarāta into Āryāvarta was, in my view, one of the results of the conflict which was begun by Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra and continued by Arjuna and Rāma. But this was merely a bye-product ; the main product was the Aryanisation, both political and cultural, of India north of Narmadā.

### I.

In order to investigate this, events likely to be historical which took place after the close of Rāma's life should be investigated. It is now scarcely in dispute that the redaction of the *Samhitā* of the *Rgveda* into what is its present shape, in substance as opposed to its verbal form, took place before the other *Samhitās* were composed.<sup>1</sup> In order to find out the historic event

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1. RAPSON, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 114.

next after the close of the *Samhitā* period we must turn to the *Aitareya* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas*, which in point of time, come next after the *Rgveda Mantras*. These *Brāhmaṇas* were composed a short time after the Kuru king Janamejaya, the son of Parīkṣit, had ceased to rule the Madhyadeśa for a few generations.<sup>2</sup> After the *Dāśarājña* the reign of Janamejaya may, therefore, be treated as an undisputed historic event. This would also be just about the time when the *Purāṇic* chroniclers drew the line between the 'past' and the 'future.'<sup>3</sup>

The period between the end of the reign of Tryarūṇa to the end of the reign of Janamejaya's great grandson Adhisimakṛṣṇa, or rather between the close of the *Mantra* period and the composition of the *Aitareya* was fruitful of extraordinary results. These results can be summarised as follows :<sup>4</sup>

- (a) There was a definite break in the literary and religious tradition of the *Rgveda*.
- (b) The *Rgveda Samhitā* had been redacted and an elaborate sacrificial ritual had sprung up

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2. Cf. KEITH, *Rgveda Brāhmaṇas Translated*, Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 25, Cambridge Mass., 1920, Intr. p. 45 ; also, *Sat. Brā.*, XIII. 5.4.1 *et seq* ; *Ait. Brā.*, VII. 34, VIII. 11.21 ; *Sāṅk. Sr. Sū.*, XVI. 8.27.

3. *Pargiter*, p. 52.

4. For the events described hereafter in paragraphs (a) to (j), cf. generally, KEITH, *Rgveda Brā. Tr.*, Intr., pp. 25-28, 44-45, 68 ; RAPSON, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, Chapters IV and V (by Dr. KEITH) ; MACDONELL, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 152-157, 178, 213-214 ; WINTERNITZ, *History of Indian Literature*, Eng. Tr., Vol. I, pp. 195-196 ; MACDONELL and KEITH, *Vedic Index*, s.v. Madhyadeśa, Vinasana, Kuru, Bharata, Varṇa, Trtsu, etc.

in the place of the earlier simplicity of religious ceremonial.

- (c) The centre of learning had shifted from the banks of Sarasvatī and Dr̥ṣadvatī to the Madhyadeśa on the banks of the Yamunā.<sup>5</sup>
- (d) Īśāna, the Mahādeva, a fusion of the concepts of the Vedic Varuṇa, Rudra and the Śiśna Deva—phallus god—of the Dasyus had come to dominate the pantheon.<sup>6</sup>

5. RAPSON, *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 116-117 (KEITH) ; MACDONELL, *Hist. Sans. Lit.*, pp. 142, 174 ; WINTERITZ, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, I, pp. 380-381 : also *Ait. Brā.*, II. 19, VIII. 14.3, VIII. 23 ; *Kauṣ. Brā.*, XII. 3 ; *Śat. Brā.*, XIII. 5.4.11.

ऋषयो वै सरस्वत्यां सत्रमासत ... .. ॥ ऐ. ब्रा. २.१९ ॥  
 ...तस्मादस्यां ध्रुवायां मध्यमायां प्रतिष्ठायां दिशि ये के च कुरुष्वालानां  
 राजानः सवशोशीनराणां राज्यायैव तेऽभिषिच्यन्ते ..... ॥ ऐ. ब्रा. ८.१४.३ ॥  
 अष्टासप्ततिं भरतो दौषन्तिर्यमुनामनु ।  
 गङ्गायां वृत्रघ्नेऽबध्नात्पञ्चपञ्चाशत् हयान् ॥ ऐ. ब्रा. ८.२३ ॥  
 माध्यमाः सरस्वत्यां सत्रमासत .. . ॥ कौ. ब्रा. १२.३ ॥  
 तेन हैतेन भरतो दौषन्तिरीजे तेनेष्ट्वेमां व्यष्टिं व्यानशे येयं भरतानां  
 तदेतद्वाथयाभिगीतमष्टासप्ततिं भरतो दौषन्तिर्यमुनामनु गङ्गायां वृत्रघ्नेऽ  
 बध्नात्पञ्चपञ्चाशत् हयानिति ॥ श. ब्रा. १३.५.४.११ ॥

6. KEITH, *R̥gveda Brā. Tr.*, Intr., pp. 25-26 ; WEBER, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, Eng. Tr., pp. 45, 110 ; MACDONELL, *Hist. Sans. Lit.*, pp. 153, 178, 206 ; VAIDYA, *Hist. Sans. Lit.*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, pp. 141-142 ; Pt. 2, pp. 58-59, 112 ; *Atharvaveda*, XV. 5 ; *Śat. Brā.*, VI. 1.3.10-17 ; *Kauṣ. Brā.*, II. 2, III. 4, V. 7, VI. 1-9, VIII. 4, XXI. 3, XXIII. 3, etc

तस्मै ध्रुवाया दिशो अन्तर्देशाद् रुद्रमिष्वासमनुष्ठातारमकुर्वन् ॥ १० ॥  
 रुद्र एनमिष्वासो ध्रुवाया दिशो अन्तर्देशादनुष्ठातानु तिष्ठति नैनं .. ॥ ११ ॥  
 तस्मा ऊर्वाया दिशो अन्तर्देशान्महादेवमिष्वासमनुष्ठातारमकुर्वन् ॥ १२ ॥

(Continued on next page)

- (e) There was a similar break in the old genealogies. The line of famous kings like Sudās and Purukutsa had either become extinct or kings had begun to look upon nearer progenitors as founders of their line.
- (f) The Tr̥tsus and the Sṛñjayas had been merged into the Bharata to form the Kuru-Pañcāla people.
- (g) Parikṣit's son Janamejaya had flourished as the great Kuru king and a patron of learning.<sup>8</sup>

(Continued from previous page)

महादेव एनमिष्वास ऊर्ध्वाया दिशो अन्तर्देशादनु.... ॥ १३ ॥

तस्मै सर्वेभ्यो अन्तर्देशेभ्य ईशानमिष्वासमनुष्ठातारमकुर्वन् ॥१४॥

ईशानमेनमिष्वासः सर्वेभ्यो अन्तर्देशेभ्योनुष्ठातासु तिष्ठति नैनं शर्वो न भवो नेशानः ॥ १५ ॥ अथर्व वेद. १५. ५. ११-१५ ॥

तमब्रवीदीशानोऽसीति । तद्यदस्य तन्नामाकरोदादित्यस्तद्रूपमभवदादित्यो वाऽईशान आदित्यो ह्यस्य सर्वस्येष्टे सोऽब्रवीदेतावान्माऽअस्मि मा मेतः

परो नाम धा इति ॥ श. ब्रा. ६. १. ३. १७ ॥

...स वै त्वमित्यब्रवीदुद्ग एवेति यदुद्गश्चन्द्रमास्तेन न ह वा एनं रुद्रो हिनस्ति नास्य प्रजां नास्य पशून् ... ॥ कौ. ब्रा. ६. ७ ॥

...स वै त्वमित्यब्रवीदीशान एवेति यदीशानोऽन्नं तेन न ह वा एन-मशानो हिनस्ति नास्य प्रजां नास्य पशून् ... ॥ कौ. ब्रा. ६. ८ ॥

7. Cf. RAPSON, *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 118-121 (KEITH); MACDONELL, *Hist. Sans. Lit.*, pp. 154-157; *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 167-168, 322; II, pp. 95-96; OLDENBERG, *Buddha*, pp. 406-409.

8. RAY CHAUDHURY, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Edn., pp. 30-33; RANGACHARYA, *Pre-Musalman India*, Vol. 2, pp. 207-208; *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 273-274; *Atharvaveda*, XX. 127. 7-10; *Ait. Brā.*, VII. 34, VIII. 21; *Sat. Brā.*, XIII. 5.4.1 *et seq.*; *Sān. Śr. Sū.*, XII. 17.1, XVI. 9.1; also footnotes 13 and 43 *infra*, where quotations have been given.

- (h) The sacred Sarasvatī had ceased to flow.<sup>9</sup>
- (i) The social structure in which the Aryans and the Dasyus stood in constant conflict had given place to a homogeneous society divided into *varnas*.<sup>10</sup>
- (j) Tribal government had been replaced by kingdoms ruled by powerful kings from well-settled capitals.<sup>11</sup>

## II

The important and outstanding question, therefore, is whether there are any authentic historical events which

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9. RAPSON, *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 117-118 (KEITH) ; *Pañc. Brā.*, XXV. 10-16 ; *Jaim. Up. Brā.*, IV. 26.12.

चतुश्चत्वारिंशदाश्वीनानि सरस्वत्या विनशनात् ऋक्षः प्रास्रवणस्तावदितः  
स्वर्गो लोकः सरस्वती सम्मितेनाध्वनाः स्वर्गलोकं यन्ति ॥ पञ्च. ब्रा.

२५.१०.१६ ॥

ऋक्षस्य प्रास्रवणस्य प्रादेशमात्रादुदक् तत्पृथिव्यै मध्यम् । अथ यत्रैते  
सप्तर्षयस्तद्दिवो मध्यम् ॥ जै. उ. ब्रा. ४.३६.१२ ॥

10. Cf. RAPSON, *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 92-94, 125 (KEITH) ; MACDONELL, *Hist. Sans. Lit.*, p. 152 ; *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 247-252 ; GHURYE, *Caste and Race in India*, pp. 41-42 ; cf. *Rgveda*, I. 104.2 ; II. 12.4 ; III. 34.9 ; etc.

येनेमा विश्वा च्यवना कृतानि यो दासं वर्णमधरं गुहाकः ।

श्वप्नीव यो जिगीवां लक्षमाददर्यः पुष्टानि स जनास इन्द्रः ॥ ऋ. २.

१२.४ ॥

ससानात्यौ उत सूर्य ससानेन्द्रः ससान पुरुभोजसं गां ।

हिरण्यमुत भोगं ससान हत्वी दस्यून्प्रायं वर्णमावत् ॥ ऋ. ३.३४.९ ॥

11. KEITH, *Rgveda Brā. Tr.*, Intr., p. 45 ; cf. *Ait. Brā.*, VIII. 12.4,5 ; VIII. 14 ; *Sāṅk. Śr. Sū.*, XVII. 16.3 ; also, RAPSON, *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 130.

would fix the distance of time between the close of the *Mantra* period and the death of Janamejaya Pārikṣita. It is however to be noted that there are two Janamejaya Pārikṣitas (viz. Nos. 74 and 97) in the Paurava dynasty as given by the *Purāṇas*.

- 1 Manu
- 4 Ayu
- 7 Pūru
- 43 Duṣyanta
- 44 Bharata
- 51 Hastin
- 53 Ajāmīḍha
- 63 Rkṣa
- 69 Samvarana
- 71 Kuru
- 73 Parikṣit I
- 74 Janamejaya I
- 85 Bhīmasena
- 87 Pratipa
- 90 Santanu
- 91 Bhīṣma
- 92 Vicitravīrya
- 93 Dhṛtarāṣṭra
- 94 Pāṇḍavas—Arjuna
- 95 Abhimanyu
- 96 Parikṣit II
- 97 Janamejaya.<sup>12</sup>

The Janamejaya Pārikṣita whom the *Satapatha* and *Aitareya Brāhmaṇas* referred to, ruled at Āsandivat as stated below.

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12. *Pargiter*, pp. 144-149.

Janamejaya Pārikṣita went round the world completely conquering on every side, and offered the horse in sacrifice. Regarding this, a sacrificial song is sung :

“ In Āsandivat, Janamejaya bound for the Gods, a blackspotted grain-eating horse, adorned with a golden ornament and with yellow garlands.”<sup>13</sup>

Was this Janamejaya Pārikṣita the great grandson of Arjuna of the Pāṇḍavas as known to *Purāṇas* (Janamejaya II) or the king of the same name and patronym who is shown as Kuru's grandson Janamejaya I in the genealogy of the Pauravas ? Dr. RAY CHAUDHURY in his *Political History of Ancient India* is of the view that Janamejaya II was the king whom the two *Brāhmaṇas* referred to.<sup>14</sup> In addition, however, to the arguments advanced by the learned author there are other facts which point the same way. Examining the pedigree in the light of Vedic reference it appears that Yayāti

13. EGGELING *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, SBE, Vol. 44, p. 396 ; cf. KEITH, *Rgveda Brā. Tr.*, p. 336 ; *Sat. Brā.*, XIII. 5.4.1-2 ; *Ait. Brā.*, VIII. 21.1-3.

जनमेजयः पारिक्षितः समन्तं सर्वतः पृथिवीं जयन्परीयायाश्वेन च  
मेध्येनेजे । तदेषाऽभि यज्ञगाथा गीयते ।

आसन्दीवति धान्यादं रुक्मिणं हरितस्रजम् ।

अश्वं बबन्ध सारङ्गं देवेभ्यो जनमेजय इति ॥ ऐ.ब्रा.८.२१.१-३ ॥

14. 4th Edn., pp. 10-17. DR. PRADHAN (*Chronology of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1927, pp. 157-159) also takes the Janamejaya Pārikṣita of the *Brāhmaṇas* to be identical with the great-grandson of the Pāṇḍavas.

No. 6,<sup>15</sup> Āyu No. 4,<sup>16</sup> Manu No. 1,<sup>17</sup> Pūru No. 7,<sup>18</sup> Ajāmīdha No. 53,<sup>19</sup> Rkṣa No. 63,<sup>20</sup> and Kuru No. 71<sup>21</sup>

15. *Rgveda*, I. 31.17; X. 63.1.

परावतो ये दिधिषन्त आप्यं मनुप्रीतासो जनिमा विवस्वतः ।

ययातेर्ये नहुष्यस्य बर्हिषि देवा आसते ते अधि ब्रुवन्तु नः ॥ १०.६३.

१ ॥

16. *Rgveda*, I. 53.10; II. 14.7; VI. 18.3; VIII. 53.2.

य आयुं कुत्समतिथिग्वमर्दयो वावृधानो दिवे दिवे ।

तं त्वा वयं हर्यश्वं शतक्रतुं वाजयन्तो हवामहे ॥ ८.५३.२ ॥

अध्वर्यवो यः शतमा सहस्रं भूम्या उपस्थेऽवपज्जघन्वान् ।

कुत्सस्यायोरतिथिग्वस्य वीरान्न्यवृणग्भरता सोममस्मै ॥ २.१४.७ ॥

17. *Rgveda*, I. 80.16; II. 33.13; VIII. 63.1; X. 100.5; etc; also, *supra*, Lecture II, under "Mānavas."

स पूर्व्यो महानां वेनः क्रतुभिरानजे ।

यस्य द्वारा मनुष्पिता देवेषु धिय आनजे ॥ ४.८.६३.१ ॥

यामथर्वा मनुष्पिता दध्यङ् धियमलत ।

तस्मिन्ब्रह्माणि पूर्वथेन्द्र उक्था समग्मतार्चन्तु स्वराज्यं ॥ २.३३.१३ ॥

18. *Rgveda*, VII. 8.4; 18.13; see *supra*, Lecture IV, with footnote 33.

प्रप्रायमग्निर्भरतस्य शृण्वे वि यत्सूर्यो न रोचते बृहद्भाः ।

अभि यः पूरं पृतनासु तस्थौ द्युतानो दैव्यो अतिथिः शुशोच ॥ ७.८.५ ॥

वि सद्यो विश्वा दंहितान्येषामिन्द्रः पुरः सहसा सप्त दर्दः ।

व्यानवस्य तृप्तवे जयं भाग्जेष्म पूरं विदथे मृध्रवाचं ॥ ७.१८.१३ ॥

19. *Rgveda*, IV. 44.6.

नू नो रयिं पुरुवीरं बृहन्तं दत्ता मिमाथामुभयेष्वस्मे ।

नरो यद्वामश्विना स्तोममावन्त्सधस्तुतिमाजमीळ्हासो अगमन् ॥

20. *Rgveda*, VIII. 68.15.

ऋज्राविन्द्रोत आ ददे हरी ऋक्षस्य सूनवि ।

आश्वमेधस्य रोहिता ॥

21. *Rgveda*, X. 33; cf. *supra*, Lecture IV, footnote 34.

कुरुश्रवणमावृणि राजानं त्रासदस्यवं ।

मंहिष्ठं वाघतामृषिः ॥



are all found in *Rgvedic Mantras* ; and so are Saṁ-  
varaṇa No. 69<sup>22</sup> who is a Vedic ṛṣi and Śantanu No. 90<sup>23</sup>  
whose patronymic is Autana, a brother of Devāpi and  
the son of Ṛṣiṣeṇa. These therefore must have flour-  
ished before the close of the *Mantra* period and not  
after and could not have been separated by about twenty  
generations from Kuru with whom the *Mantra* period  
ended.<sup>24</sup>

The *Atharva Veda* refers to Pratīpa No. 87.<sup>25</sup> The  
two older *Brāhmaṇas* know Sātrājita Śātānika and also  
refer to Bharata Dauṣṣyanti Saudyumni (No. 44)<sup>26</sup> and

22. *Rgveda*, V. 33.10.

उत त्वे मा ध्वन्यस्य जुष्टा लक्ष्मण्यस्य सुरुचो यतानाः ।

महा रायः संवरणस्य ऋषेर्व्रजं न गावः प्रयता अपि गमन् ॥

23. *Rgveda*, X. 98 ; also, *Vedic Index*, II, p. 353 ; *Pargiter*,  
p. 165 ; *Nirukta*, II. 10 ; *Mbh.*, I. 94.61-62 ; 95.44-46 ; etc.

यदेवापिः शन्तनवे पुरोहितो होत्राय वृतः कृपयन्नदीधेत ।

देवश्रुतं वृष्टिर्वनि रराणो बृहस्पतिर्वीचमस्मा अयच्छत् ॥ ऋ १०.९८.७ ॥

यं त्वा देवापिः शुशुचानो अग्न आर्ष्टिषेणो मनुष्यः समीधे ।

विश्वेभिर्देवैरनुमद्यमानः प्र पर्जन्यमीरया वृष्टिमन्तं ॥ १०.९८.८ ॥

24. Cf. contra, the genealogical tables prepared by *Pargiter*  
(pp. 144-149) followed so far in various books, which are ob-  
viously wrong as all these *Rgvedic* personages, naturally belong-  
ing to the *Rgvedic* period, are placed in these tables in the post-  
Vedic period, generations after the close of the *Rgvedic* period.

25. *Atharvaveda*, XX, 129.1-2 ; cf. also, *Ait. Brā.*, VI. 33.2 ;  
*Sāṅk. Sr. Su.*, XII. 18.1-2.

एता अश्वा आ ल्वन्ते ॥ प्रतीपं प्रातिसुत्वनम् ॥ अ. वे. २०.

१२९.१-२; शां. श्रौ. सू. १२.१८.१-२; ऐ. ब्रा. ६.३३.२ (प्रातिसुत्वनम्)

26. *Ait. Brā.*, VIII. 21. 5 ; *Sat.*, *Brā.*, XIII. 5. 4.19-22.

एतेन ह वा ऐन्द्रेण महाभिषेकेण सोमशुष्मः वाजरत्नायनः शतानीकं

(Continued on next page)

to his priest Dīrghatamas<sup>27</sup> who also figures in the *Rg-veda Mantras*.<sup>28</sup> The two *Brāhmaṇas* however do not know of any of the Paurava kings from Saṁvaraṇa to the Pāṇḍavas. Bhīmasena was the brother of Janamejaya Pārikṣita.<sup>29</sup> The Dhṛtarāṣṭra Vaicitravīrya, No. 92, is not a Kuru prince at all according to *Kāthaka Samhitā*,<sup>30</sup> and is more likely to be the king of Kāśī re-

(Continued from previous page)

सात्राजितमभिषिषेच तस्मादु शतानीकः सात्राजितः समन्तं सर्वतः पृथिवीं जयन्परीयायाश्चेन च मेध्येनेजे ॥ ऐ. ब्रा. ८.२१.५ ॥

...शतानीकः समन्तासु मेध्यं सात्राजितो हयं आदत्त यज्ञं काशीनां भरतः सत्त्वतामिवेति ॥ श. ब्रा. १३.५.४.२१ ॥

27. *Ait. Brā.*, VIII. 23.1 ; *Sat. Brā.*, XIII. 5.4.11-12.

एतेन ह वा ऐन्द्रेण महाभिषकेण दीर्घतमा मामतेयो भरतं दौष्पन्तिमभिषिषेच तस्मादु भरतो दौष्पन्तिः समन्तं सर्वतः पृथिवीं जयन्परीयायाश्चैव च मेध्यैरोजे ॥ ऐ. ब्रा. ८.२३.१॥ तेन हैतेन भरतो दौःषन्तिरीजे..... ॥ श. ब्रा. १३.५.४.११ ॥ (note 5, supra)

28. *Rgveda*, I. 158.1,6 ; also, I. 147.3 ; 156.6 ; IV. 4.13 ; VIII.9.

दीर्घतमा मामतेयो जुजुर्वान्दशमे युगे ।

अपामर्थं यतीनां ब्रह्मा भवति सारथिः ॥ ऋ. १.१५८.६ ॥

29. *Sat. Brā.*, XIII. 5.4.3 ; *Sāṅk. Sr. Sū.*, XV. 9.3.5.

ज्योतिरतिरात्रस्तेन भीमसेनमेते एव पूर्वे अहनी गौरतिरात्रस्तेनोग्रसेनमेते एव पूर्वे अहनी आयुरतिरात्रस्तेन श्रुतसेनमित्येते पारिक्षितीयास्तदेतद्वाथयाभिगीतं... ॥ श. ब्रा. १३.५.४.३ ॥

गौस्तेन भीमसेनम् । आयुस्तेन श्रुतसेनम् । सर्वे पारिक्षितीयाः ॥ शां. श्रौ. सू. १६.९.३-५ ॥

30. *Kāthaka Sam.*, X. 6 ; cf. *Vedic Index*, I, p. 403.

नैमिष्या वै सत्रमासत त उत्थाय सप्तविंशतिं कुरुपञ्चालेषु वत्सतरानवन्वत तान्वको दाक्षिणव्रवीद्युयमेवैतान्विभजध्वमिमहं धृतराष्ट्रं वैचित्रवीर्यं गमिष्यामि स मयं गृहान्करिष्यतीति... ॥ का. सं. १०.६ ॥

ferred to by the *Satapatha*<sup>31</sup> who was defeated by the Bharata king Sātrājita Śatānika.<sup>32</sup> The *Purāṇic* genealogy of Janamejaya is therefore incorrect.

Again, if we take the Janamejaya Pārikṣita of the *Aitareya* to be Janamejaya I (No. 74) and not Janamejaya II (No. 97) it would lead to very curious results. On this hypothesis, Vyāsa, the son of Parāśara, who lived about the close of the *Mantra* period and was contemporary of Kuru (70) lived for about 25 generations to be the contemporary of Arjuna (No. 94).<sup>33</sup> Uttara Kurus who had become a mythic people in the time of Janamejaya I (No. 74) became a very much living people in the time of Paṇḍu, the father of Arjuna (94).<sup>34</sup> Though Janamejaya I (74) was a great king the *Purāṇas* have omitted to record his exploits and practically transferred them to Janamejaya II (94). In absence of any corroborative evidence that in the line of Pauravas there were two Parikṣits, that each of them had a son by name Janamejaya, and that both sons had

31. *Sat. Brā.*, XIII, 5.4.19-22.

गोविन्देन शतानीकः । सात्राजित ईजे काश्यस्याश्वमादाय ततो हैतद-  
र्वाकाशयोऽग्नीन्नादधत्तऽआत्रसोमपीथाः स्म इति वदन्तः ॥ १९ ॥  
तदेतद्वाथयाभिगीतम् । शतानीकः समन्तासु मेध्यं सात्राजितो हयं  
आदत्त यज्ञं काशीनां भरतः सत्त्वतामिवेति ॥ २१ ॥ अथ द्वितीयया ।  
श्वेतं समन्तासु वशं चरन्तं शतानीको धृतराष्ट्रस्य मेध्यं आदाय सहा  
दशमास्यमश्वं शतानीको गोविन्देन हेज इति ॥ श. ब्रा. १३.५.४.

१९, २१-२२ ॥

32. WEBER, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, pp. 90, 114, 125.

33. Cf. contra, the genealogical tables by *Pargiter* (pp. 144-149).

34. Cf. RAPSON, *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 121.

a similarly glorious career, the conclusion is inevitable that the Janamejaya Pārikṣita of *Aitareya* is Janamejaya II whom the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* place as the great-grandson of the Pāṇḍavas.<sup>35</sup>

This conclusion is supported by looking at the references to Kurus. The Kurus are not a people in the *Rgveda*;<sup>36</sup> we only find a prince Kuruśravaṇa<sup>37</sup> and a Pākasthāman Kaurayāṇa.<sup>38</sup> Kuruśravaṇa is a descendant of Trasadasyu, and perhaps supplies the link between Purukutsa and the later Kurus. There is no doubt that the Tṛtsus, the Bharatas and the Sṛñjayas of the *Rgveda* later went to form the Kuru-Pāñcālas.<sup>39</sup> The Kuru-Pāñcālas were one people occupying the Madhya-

35. Mr. N. BHATTACHARYA, however, states that there were three Paurava Janamejayas and two Janamejaya Pārikṣitas (*Ind. Hist. Qu.*, IX, pp. 804-809). The late Rao Bahadur C. V. VAIDYA was certain about there being only one Janamejaya Pārikṣita, but he took him to be the descendant of Pāṇḍava Arjuna (*Mahābhārata, A Criticism*, Bombay, 1905, p. 101; also, *Hist. Sans. Lit.*, I, Pt. 4, p. 96).

36. Cf. *Vedic Index*, I, p. 16; RAPSON, *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 83.

37. *Rgveda*, X. 33.4 (quoted above in footnote 21).

38. *Rgveda*, VIII. 3.21.

यं मे दुरिन्द्रो मरुतः पाकस्थामा कौरयाणः ।

विश्वेषां त्मना शोभिष्ठमुपेव दिवि धावमानम् ॥

39. Cf. OLDENBERG, *Buddha*, pp. 406-410; MACDONELL, *Hist. Sans. Lit.*, pp. 154-156; *Vedic Index*, I, p. 167; WEBER, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, p. 114 also n \*. In royal proclamations, भरताः (*Taitt. Sam.*, I. 8.10.2; *Taitt. Brā.*, I. 7.4.2), कुरुपञ्चालाः (*Vāj. Sam. Kāṇva.*, XI. 3.3; 6.3), जनते (*Kāth. Sam.*, XV. 7; *Mait. Sam.*, II. 6.7) and भरताः, कुरवः, पञ्चालाः, कुरुपञ्चालाः and जनताः (*Āpastamba*, XVIII. 12.7) occur as variant formulas in various texts. See note 42 below for quotation from the *Vāj. Sam.*

deśa, the home of learning and sacrifice ;<sup>40</sup> their kings performed sacrifices ;<sup>41</sup> and according to the *Vājasaneyī Samhitā* they had one king.<sup>42</sup> In the *Artharva Veda*, Parikṣit, the prince of Kurus, and in the *Aitareya* and the *Satapatha* his son Janamejaya, are mentioned as

40. *Ait. Brā.*, VIII. 14 ; *Sat. Brā.*, I. 7.2.8 ; III. 2.3.15 ; *Śāṅk. Sr. Sū.*, XV. 3.15 ; *Jaim. Up. Brā.*, III. 7.6 ; 8.7 ; IV. 7.2 ; *Gopatha Brā.*, I. 2.9 ; etc ; KEITH *R̥gveda Brā. Tr.*, Intr., p. 45 ; also foot-notes 5 and 62 for quotations.

पाङ्क्तो यज्ञः पाङ्क्तः पशुः पञ्चऽर्तवः संवत्सरस्यैष पञ्चावत्तस्य  
सम्पद्बहुर्हैव प्रजया पशुभिर्भवति यस्यैवं विदुषः पञ्चावत्तं क्रियतऽएतद्ध  
न्वेव प्रज्ञातं कौरुपञ्चालं यच्चतुरवत्तं तस्माच्चतुरवत्तं भवति ॥ श. ब्रा.  
१.७.२.८ ॥

पथ्यया स्वस्त्या प्राजानंस्तस्मादन्नोत्तराहि वाग्वदति कुरुपञ्चालत्रा  
वाग्येषा निदानेनोदीचीं ह्येतया दिशं प्राजानन्नुदीचीं ह्येतस्यै दिक् ॥  
श. ब्रा. ३.२.३.१५ ॥  
वयसोवयसः सप्तदशसप्तदशेति कुरुवाजपेयः ॥ शां. श्रौ. सू. १५.३.  
१५ ॥

स ह स्माऽऽह सुदक्षिणः क्षैमिर्यत्र भूयिष्ठाः कुरुपञ्चालास्मागता  
भवितारस्तत्र एष संवादो नाऽनुपदृष्टे शूद्रा इव संवदिष्यामह इति ॥  
जै. उ. ब्रा. ३.७.६ ॥

41. *Sat. Brā.*, V. 5.2.5.

तद्ध स्मैतपुरा कुरुपञ्चाला आहुः । ऋतवो वाऽअस्मान्युक्ता वहन्त्यृतून्वा  
प्रयुक्ताननुचराम इति यदेषां राजानो राजसूययाजिन आसुसद्ध स्म  
तदभ्याहुः ।

42. *Vāj. Sam.*, XI. 3.3 (p. 306, WEBER'S Edn) ; cf. also, RAP-  
SON, *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 119 ; WEBER, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, p. 114 n \*.

एष वः कुरवो राजैष वः पञ्चाला राजा ।

सोमोऽस्माकं ब्राह्मणानां राजा ॥ वाज. सं. ११.३.३ ॥

performing horse-sacrifice.<sup>43</sup> These references present a continuity of power, learning and culture among the Kurupañcālas rising to its climax in the time of Janamejaya.

There is no reference to any war between the Kurus and Pañcālas or to a single great figure of the *Mahābhārata* or to a later Parikṣit and Janamejaya in the later Vedic literature, the latest part of which must be placed long after any conceivable date of the Bharata war. Why are these records silent about that devastating conflict? Why is not the *Rājasūya Yajña* of Yudhiṣṭhira or his coronation referred to in the tediously elaborate ritualistic texts? Why is Kṛṣṇa not spoken of?<sup>44</sup> How is this conspiracy of silence to be explain-

43. *Atharvaveda*, XX. 127.7-10 (= *Sāṅk. Śr. Sū.*, XII. 17.1); *Ait. Brā.*, VII. 34; VIII. 11.12; *Sat. Brā.*, XIII. 5.4.1-3; also footnote 13 above for quotations.

राज्ञो विश्वजनीनस्य यो देवो मर्त्याँ अति ।

वैश्वानरस्य सुष्टुतिमा सुनोता परिक्षितः ॥ ७ ॥

परिच्छिन्नः क्षेममकरोत् तम आसनमाचरन् ।

कुलायन् कृष्वन् कौरव्यः पतिर्वदति जायया ॥ ८ ॥

कतरत् त आ हराणि दधि मन्यां परि श्रुतम् ।

जायाः पतिं विपृच्छति राष्ट्रे राज्ञः परिक्षितः ॥ ९ ॥

अभीवस्वः प्र जिहीते यवः पक्वः परो बिल्बम् ।

जनः स भद्रमेधते राष्ट्रे राज्ञः परिक्षितः ॥ १० ॥ अ. वे. २०.१२७.७.१० ॥

44. Dr. RAY CHAUDHURY identifies Devakiputra Kṛṣṇa mentioned in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (III. 17.6) with the Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahābhārata* (*Pol. Hist.*, 4th Edn., p. 119 n 3), Dr. WINTERNITZ (*Hist. Ind. Lit.*, I, pp. 456-457), WEBER (*Hist. Ind. Lit.*, pp. 71, 148) and others (cf. *Vedic Index*, I, p. 184) take a different view. Mr. TADPATRIKAR of the Bhandarkar Insti-

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ed except by the inevitable conclusion that no such war took place and no such mighty figures lived in fact ?

On the contrary the *Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* refers to a curse which led to the Kurus being driven out of Kurukṣetra ;<sup>45</sup> and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* contains a query as to what happened to the descendants of Parikṣit.<sup>46</sup> Either of the misfortunes cannot refer to the Bharata war ; for soon thereafter, according to the *Purāṇas*, Janamejaya succeeded to the kingship of

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tute has written a monograph on the "Kṛṣṇa Problem" subjecting the different accounts of Kṛṣṇa in the *Purāṇas* and the *Mahābhārata* to a critical analysis, but he has arrived at no definite conclusion. Like the central theme of the great *Mahābhārata*, the *Harivaṃśa* also seems to portray the *Dāśarājña* and the Bhṛgu wars. The principal enemies of Kṛṣṇa are Kaiśa (Bhojas, descendants of Druhyus), Śiśupāla (Cedis, sept of the Matsyas, enemies of Sudās), Jarāsandha (Magadha, descendant of Pūrus), who may be said to be the enemies of Sudās in the *Dāśarājña*. The vanquishing of the whole army by Kṛṣṇa single-handed is reminiscent of the Paraśurāma exploits, and so is the foundation of Dvārakā after getting land from the sea which recalls to our mind the similar story about Śūrpāraka.

45. *Sāṅk. Śr. Sū.*, XV. 16.11. The *Harivaṃśa* (I. 30.10) and the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 150.3) probably refer to the *Brahmahatyā* leading to the curse.

तमु ह ब्राह्मणोऽनुव्याजहार । न क्षत्रस्य धृतिनायष्ट इममेव प्रति समरं  
कुरवः कुक्षेत्राच्चोष्यन्त इति ॥ शां. श्रौ. सू. १५.१६.११ ॥

गार्ग्यस्य हि सुतं बालं स राजा जनमेजयः ।

बाष्कुरं हिंसयामास ब्रह्महत्यामवाप सः ॥ हरि. १.३०.१० ॥

आसीद्राजा महावीर्यः परिक्षिज्जनमेजयः ।

अबुद्धिपूर्वामागच्छद्ब्रह्महत्यां महीपतिः ॥ म. भा. १२.१५०.३ ॥

46. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III. 3.1.

क पारिक्षिता अभवन् ।

Kurus. These events which appear to be authentic must on any hypothesis be referred to a time posterior to the reign of Arjuna's great grandson. The Kurupañcāla supremacy, therefore, on all reliable testimony had only one break and a final one only after the reign of Janamejaya Pārikṣita, the only one of that name.

If my conclusions are correct Janamejaya Pārikṣita's ancestry is not reliably known and the story of the *Mahābhārata* is a purely imaginary one. A magnificent national epic, then appears to have been woven into the heroic tales which floated round the memories of the great conflicts which began with *Dāśarājña* and of which the central figure was Paraśurāma. This fact is betrayed by the very contacts which the poet seeks to establish between his imaginary characters and the names remembered as connected with the Bhṛgu-Haihaya conflict.<sup>47</sup> The Tṛtsus, Sudās and Sṛñjaya be-

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47. Cf. also Dr. SUKTHANKAR's article on "The Bhṛgu and the Bhārata" (*Annals of the Bhand. O. R. Inst.*, XVIII, pp. 1-76) especially pp. 13, 17-18, 24-25, 35, 42-43, 65, where he has referred to the passages from the epic in which the poet has shown the epic characters to be in personal touch with Paraśurāma, etc. The evidence brought forth by Dr. SUKTHANKAR shows the amount of Bhṛgu influence over the *Mahābhārata*, at times to the detriment of the main epic story. It seems more probable, however, that the *Bhārata* (by whatever name known in ancient times) was originally a Bhṛgu epic, and was given its present shape with the addition of the full-fledged Kaurava-Pāṇḍava account after it came into the hands of some court-poet of Janamejaya or his successors. Further support in favour of the view expressed above is found in the fact that the *Mahābhārata* shows Viṣṇu influence and the Śiva cult is a later addition (cf. WINTERNITZ, *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, I, p. 320). It is but natural that the Bhṛgu epic, the original of our present *Mahābhārata*, should glorify Viṣṇu, as the great Bhārgava Paraśurāma is known as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.



come members of the same family and form the Pañcāla line of *Purāṇic* tradition.<sup>48</sup> Sudās is supposed to have defeated Saṁvaraṇa of Hastināpura and a confederacy of Pūrus, Yadus, Śivas, Druhyus, Matsyas, Turvaśa and other states was stirred up to resist Pañcālas.<sup>49</sup> This is nothing but an erroneous edition of the Vedic account of *Dāśarājña*, Saṁvaraṇa being considered identical with Purukutsa.<sup>50</sup> Kuru the descend-

48. Cf. *Pargiter*, pp. 115-117 ; *JRAS*, 1918, pp. 229-248 ; *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 353 n.\*.

49. Cf. *Mbh.*, I. 94.35-38 ; *Pargiter*, p. 281 ; *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 49-50. The Pañcāla prince is taken to be Sudāsa. It may be noted that in the great Bhārata war, the opponents of the Pāṇḍavas (i.e., Pañcālas, as opposed to the Kurus) included the kings of Gāndhāra, Śibi, Kośala, Madra, Kāamboja, Avanti, Kekaya, Sindha, Bhoja, etc., most of whom were descendants of, or connected with, the enemies of Sudās in the Vedic *Dāśarājña*, such as the Yadus, Turvaśas, Druhyus, etc., the Kauravas (Kurus) themselves being the descendants of the Pūrus. The supporters of the Pāṇḍavas were the Pañcālas—Śrñjaya and Somaka-, Matsyas, Kāśī, Cedi, Vṛṣṇi, etc., who, with the exception of the Matsyas, were the descendants of the allies of Sudās. Cf. also footnotes 47, 50, 55 and 76.

आर्क्षे संवरणे राजन्प्रशासति वसुधराम् ।

संक्षयः सुमहानासीत्प्रजानामिति नः श्रुतम् ॥ म. भा. १.९४.३५ ॥

अभ्ययात्तं च पाञ्चाल्यो विजित्य तरसा महीम् ।

अक्षौहिणीभिर्देशभिः स एनं समरेऽजयत् ॥ १.९४.३८ ॥

50. Cf. the account of the *Dāśarājña* (DAS, *Rgvedic Culture*, pp. 352-367 ; *Vedic Index*, I, p. 320) where the names of the participants have been enumerated. Sudās and Purukutsa who led the rival forces have been represented in the epic account as Pāñcālya and Saṁvaraṇa. As stated in the previous footnote, in the *Mahābhārata* war also the various kings under the banner of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas may be traced to their Vedic prototypes in the *Dāśarājña*. Some changes indeed are to be

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ant of Traśadasyu and Purukutsa, as also of the *Purāṇic* Saṁvaraṇa, subdues south Pañcāla ;<sup>51</sup> this is nothing but Kuruśravaṇa's conquest over Sudās' forces. Pr̥ṣata (Prastoka ?) a descendant of Sudās recovers north Pañcāla with Bhīṣma's aid, the latter being the pupil of Rāma, the son of Jamadagni.<sup>52</sup> Droṇa, the pupil of

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found, but they are quite explicable in view of the subsequent events. Even in the *R̥gveda*, we find that the Pūrus were sometimes the allies and sometimes enemies of Sudās. The *Mahābhārata* war, as has been observed by PARGITER (*JRAS*, 1908, p. 334) and HOPKINS (*Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 275), was broadly between the southern Madhyadeśa united with Pañcāla and the rest of India ; the *Dāśarājña*, however, was fought in the Punjab, between the Sarasvati and Dr̥ṣadvatī. With the expansion of the Aryan civilization eastward in the post-Vedic period, the writer (or the writers) of the epic probably shifted the scene of the conflict eastward ; in this light, the locations of the contending parties in both the wars may be said to be practically the same.

51. Cf. *Matsya*, 50.20 ; *Vāyu*, 99.215 ; *Hari*, I. 32.85 ; which state that Kuru extended his sway beyond Prayāga indicating thereby that he overcame south Pañcāla which intervened between his territory and Prayāga.

ऋक्षात्संवरणो जज्ञे कुरुः संवरणात्ततः ।

यः प्रयागमतिक्रम्य कुरुक्षेत्रमकल्पयत् ॥ मत्स्य. ५०.२० ॥

52. Cf. *Mbh.*, XII. 27.10 ; *Hari*, I. 20.35.73 ; also, *Mbh.*, XII. 46. 18-21 ; etc.

येन चोग्रायुधो राजा चक्रवर्ती दुरासदः ।

दग्धश्चास्त्रप्रतापेन स मया युधि घातितः ॥ म. भा. १२.२७.१० ॥

एतस्मिन्नन्तरे तात काम्पिल्ये पृषतोऽभ्ययात् ।

हते नीपेश्वरे चैव हते चोग्रायुधे नृपे ॥ हरि. १.२०.७२ ॥

आहिच्छत्रं स्वकं राज्यं पित्र्यं प्राप महायुतिः ।

हुपदस्य पिता राजन्ममैवानुमते तदा ॥ हरि. १.२०.७३ ॥

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Rāma, leading the Kurus, drives out Drupada from north Pañcāla.<sup>53</sup> Drupada goes to south Pañcāla and with Sṛñjaya and Somaka goes to battle.<sup>54</sup> Thus the

(Continued from previous page)

रामस्य दयितं शिष्यं जामदग्न्यस्य पाण्डव ।

आधारं सर्वविद्यानां तमस्मि मनसा गतः ॥ म. भा. १२.४६.१८ ॥

... .. गाङ्गेयं भीष्मं भीमपराक्रमम् ॥ म. भा. १२.४६.२१ ॥

53. Cf. *Mbh.*, I. 138.1-77 ; 166.16-28 ; *Hari*, I. 20.74-75.

संप्रहृष्टमना द्रोणो रामात्परमसंमतम् ।

ब्रह्मास्त्रं समनुज्ञप्य नरेष्वभ्यधिकोऽभवत् ॥ म. भा. १.१६६.१३ ॥

ततोऽर्जुनेन तरसा निर्जित्य द्रुपदं रणे ।

आहिच्छत्रं सकाम्पित्यं द्रोणायाथापवर्जितम् ॥ हरि. १.२०.७४ ॥

प्रतिगृह्य ततो द्रोण उभयं जयतां वरः ।

काम्पित्यं द्रुपदायैव प्रायच्छद्विदितं तव ॥ हरि. १.२०.७५ ॥

राजासि दक्षिणे कूले भागीरथ्याहमुत्तरे । (म. भा. १.१६६.२४<sub>b</sub>)

सखायं मां विजानीहि पाञ्चाल यदि मन्यसे ॥ म. भा. १.१३८.७० ॥

54. Cf. *Mbh.*, I. 138.72-77 ; VI. 16.24 ; VI. 89. 17 ; etc. Drupada, king of the Pañcālas, took the side of the Pāṇḍavas in the Bharata war, and the Pañcāla army included Somakas and Sṛñjaya (cf. SÖRENSEN'S *Index to... Mahābhārata*, s.v. Pañcāla, Somaka and Sṛñjaya). Drupada and his son Dhṛṣṭadyumna are called "best among the Somakas" (सोमकानां प्रबर्हः ।). The importance attached to the Pañcālas in the Bharata war will be evident from the fact that Dhṛṣṭadyumna was the Commander-in-Chief of the Pāṇḍava forces (*Mbh.*, V. 157.13).

सञ्जयाश्च महेष्वासा धृष्टद्युम्नपुरोगमाः ।

जृम्भमाणं महर्षिहं हृष्टा क्षुद्रमृगा यथा ॥ म. भा. ६.१६.२४ ॥

विराटो द्रुपदश्चैव सहिताः सर्वसोमकैः ।

अभ्यद्रवन्त सङ्ग्रामे भीष्ममेव महारथम् ॥ म. भा. ६.८९.१७ ॥

सेनाप्रणेतृन् विधिवदभ्यषिञ्चयुधिष्ठिरः ।

सर्वसेनापतिं चात्र धृष्टद्युम्नं चकार ह ॥ म. भा. ५.१५७.१३ ॥

old allies of Sudās are shown as fighting with their old enemies, the Bharatas, Kuruśravaṇa's people, led by the pupils of the old hero Rāma. The new version is evidently wrenched out of its context and displaced topographically.<sup>55</sup> If, therefore, the pedigree of the Pāṇḍavas and the details of their romantic story are kept aside the period between the close of the *Mantra* period and the death of Janamejaya would be considerably narrowed. Kuruśravaṇa the *Rgvedic* prince descended from Purukutsa, the formation of Kuru Pañcāla alliance referred to in the *Aitareya*,<sup>56</sup> Viśvāmitra the

55. Cf. also footnotes 47, 49, 50 and 75. We have seen that Sudās and Śrījaya (later, Pañcāla) were allies fighting with Purukutsa (later, Kuru). So, the various encounters that they had were later taken to be Kuru-Śrījaya conflicts. The *Mahābhārata* also refers to the great internecine Kuru battle as Kuru-Śrījaya war (*Mbh.*, V. 93.8 ; VI. 45.2 ; VIII. 47.23 ; VIII. 66.40 ; IX. 9.1 ; etc). Following almost on the heels of *Dāśarājña* were the wars of the great Bhārgava, Paraśurāma. Naturally these also found a place in the imagination of the poet or poets concerned with the *Mahābhārata* and got included in the epic. As the whole period was packed up with wars everywhere it was subsequently taken to cover generations. All the incidents were badly mangled and tagged on to imaginary persons later taken to be the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas, and ancestors of the historic Janamejaya well-known in the *Brāhmaṇas*. Thus there is in the *Mahābhārata* a hopeless mixture of various incidents regardless of time, place and persons.

एवं मारिष संग्रामो नरवाजिगजक्षयः ।

कुरूणां सृजयानां च देवासुरसमोऽभवत् ॥ म. भा. ८.४७.२३ ॥

ततः प्रवृत्ते युद्धं कुरूणां भयवर्धनम् ।

सृजयैः सह राजेन्द्र घोरं देवासुरोपमम् ॥ म. भा. ९.९१ ॥

56. *Ait. Brā.*, VIII. 14.3 ; cf. also, *Jaim. Up. Brā.*, III. 7.6 ; 8.7 ; IV. 7.2 ; *Gopatha Brā.*, I. 2.9 ; *Kāṭh. Sam.*, X. 6 ; *Vāj. Sam.*,

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Bharata who fought with Sudās, the Bharata Dauḥsyanti referred to in the *Aitareya* who established Bharata dominion in the Madhyadeśa<sup>57</sup> and the Bharatas whose exploits the *Mahābhārata* recites could not have been separated by a very long time.

*Atharva Veda* which preceded the *Aitareya* knows of Parikṣit and also tells the tale of Sṛñjaya Vītahavyas having perished,<sup>58</sup> but does not know of Bhīma of Vidarbha (50) ; of Sahadeva the son of Sṛñjaya (59) ; and of Marutta the son of Avikṣit (40) known to the *Aitareya* ;<sup>59</sup> neither of these records knows of Bhagī-

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XI. 3.3 ; RAPSON, *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 118-119 ; for quotations, see footnotes 5, 30, 40, 42 and 62.

57. For Viśvāmitra, the Bharata, cf. the account of the *Dāśarājña* given in Lecture I. For Bharata Dauḥsyanti, cf. *Ait. Brā.*, VIII. 23.1 (quoted above in footnote 27).

58. *Atharvaveda*, XX. 127.7-10 (Parikṣit) ; V. 18.10-11 ; 19.1 ; (Sṛñjaya-Vītahavya) quoted respectively in footnote 43 Lecture V, and footnotes 20 and 27 Lecture IV.

59. *Ait. Brā.*, VII. 34.9 ; VIII. 21-12 ; cf. also, *Śat. Brā.*, II. 4.4.4 ; XII. 8.2.3 ; XII. 5.4.6.

...एतमु हैव प्रोचतुः पर्वतनारदौ सोमकाय साहदेव्याय सहदेवाय  
सार्जयाय बभ्रवे दैवावृधाय भीमाय वैदर्भाय नमज्जिते गान्धाराय ॥

ऐ. ब्रा.७.३४.९ ॥

एतेन ह वा ऐन्द्रेण महाभिषेकेण संवर्त आङ्गिरसो मरुत्तमाविक्षित-

मभिषिषेच... ॥ ऐ. ब्रा.८.२९.१२ ॥

...स वै सहदेवः सार्ज्यसादप्येतन्निवचनमिवास्त्यन्यद्वाऽअरे सुप्ला

नाम दधऽइति स एतेन यज्ञेनेजे... ॥ श.ब्रा.२.४.४.४. ॥

...महाव्रतमतिरात्रस्तेन ह मरुत्त आविक्षित ईजऽआयोगवो राजा

तस्य ह ततो मरुत्तः परिवेष्टारोऽग्निः क्षत्ता विश्वे देवाः सभासदो

बभूवु...॥ श.ब्रा.१३.५.४.६ ॥

ratha Aikṣvāka (45) known to the *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad*;<sup>60</sup> of Citraratha (19) known to the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*;<sup>61</sup> and of Māndhātā (21) known to the later *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*.<sup>62</sup> The kings, therefore, were not known or were not important enough to be noticed at the date of the *Aitareya* when Janamejaya furnished a background of recent glory. Sudās and Purukutsa therefore could not have been separated from Janamejaya Pāriksita by many generations.

As a result of these inquiries the events between the founding of Māhiṣmatī and the death of Janamejaya which may be treated as historical are :

- (1) The Outer Band Aryans—the Śāryātas, the Bhr̥gus and the Haihaya—Tālajaṅghas,—were in occupation of Gujarāta from the dawn of traditional history.<sup>63</sup>
- (2) The Haihaya-Tālajaṅghas very much later

60. *Jaim. Up. Brā.*, IV. 6.1.

भगेरथो हैक्ष्वाको राजा कामप्रेण यज्ञेन यक्ष्यमाण आस ।

61. *Pañc. Brā.*, XX. 12.5.

एतेन वै चित्ररथं कापेया अयाजयंस्तमेकाकिनमन्नाद्यस्याध्यक्षमकुर्वन्त-  
स्माच्चैत्ररथीनामेकः क्षत्रपतिर्जायते तुलम्ब इव द्वितीयः ।

62. *Gopatha Brā.*, I. 2.9.

विचारो ह वै काबन्धिः कबन्धस्याथर्वणस्य पुत्रो मेधावी मीमांसकोऽ-  
नूचान आस, स ह स्वेनातिमानेन मानुषं वित्तं नेयाय, तं मातोवाच, त एवैत-  
दन्नमवोचंस्त. इममेषु कुरुपञ्चालेष्वज्जमगधेषु काशिकौशल्येषु शाल्वमतस्येषु श्व-  
सउशीनरेषूदीचेष्वन्नमदन्तीत्यथ वयं तवैवातिमानेनाद्यास्मो वत्स बाहनमन्विच्छेति  
स मान्धातुर्यौवनाश्वस्य सार्वभौमस्य राज्ञः स्तोमं प्रसूतमाजगाम..... ।

63. Cf. *Supra*, Lectures I and III.

defeated the Nāgas and founded Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā.<sup>64</sup>

- (3) That a great war between Aryan tribes took place lasting for generations.<sup>65</sup>
- (4) The important episode of the war was the *Dāśarājña* : Sudās and Vasiṣṭha with Tr̥tsus, Vīta-havyas and Sr̥ñjayas (i.e. Haihaya-Tāla-jaṅghas) were on one side ; Purukutsa, Viśvā-mitra and Jamadagni led the Bharatas and their allies on the other. In one of its later campaigns the Vītahavya king Arjuna was killed by Rāma, son of Jamadagni.<sup>66</sup>
- (5) As a result of these protracted wars, about the reign of Tryaruṇa, a descendant of Purukutsa, a definite break occurred in the genealogies and the literary and religious traditions of the *Ṛgvedic* Aryans, and the *Mantra* period came to an end.<sup>67</sup>
- (6) Thereafter, the war was continued between Sr̥ñjaya and Vītahavyas on one side and the Bharatas and Bhṛguś on the other.<sup>68</sup>

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64. Cf. *Supra*, Lecture II, note 50, and Lecture III.

65. The war covered at least the lifetimes of Divodāsa, Sudās and Saudāsa, Vasiṣṭha and Śakti, Purukutsa, Trasadasyu and Kuruśravaṇa, Jamadagni, Viśvāmitra and Śunaḥśepa, etc.

66. *Supra*, Lecture I for *Dāśarājña* and Lectures II and IV for Arjuna and Rāma.

67. For Tryaruṇa, cf. Lecture IV, notes 35 and 39. There is no reference to any successors of Tryaruṇa and his contemporaries which indicates break in the genealogies and traditions.

68. Cf. *Atharvaveda*, V. 18.8-10 ; 19.1 ; *supra*, Lecture IV with notes 27 to 30.

- (a) Rāma the son of Jamadagni, Kuruśra-vaṇa the descendant of Purukutsa and a Bharata prince, son of Duṣyanta, led the latter at different places and times.<sup>69</sup>
- (b) Rāma's conquests spread upto the Narmadā. Māhiṣmatī was destroyed and Śūrparaka was founded.<sup>70</sup>
- (c) Later in the east the Vītahavyas and Śrñjayas were destroyed by the Bhr̥gu Aurva Agni and Sagara.<sup>71</sup>
- (d) In one of the stages of the war Rāma's pupil Droṇa leading the Kurus defeated the Śrñjayas, who formed the Pañcāla whom Somaka and Drupada led.<sup>72</sup>
- (7) Rāma's war had the following effects :
  - (a) Kingdoms dominated by the Inner Band Aryans spread over north India right upto the Narmadā.
  - (b) The Tṛtsus, Bharatas, Śrñjayas fused to become the Kuru-Pañcāla people, who

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69. See *supra*, Lectures III and IV ; for Bharata's wars, cf. *Śat. Brā.*, XIII. 5.4.11-14 (quoted partially in footnote 5 above); also, RAPSON, *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 47, 120, 308.

70. *Supra*, Lecture III.

71. *Supra*, Lecture IV with note 31 for Aurva, and Lecture III with note 50 for Sagara.

72. Cf. *Droṇaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* which represents the Kaurava-Pāṇḍava war under the command of Droṇa for the Kurus who defeated the Somakas and Śrñjayas ; specially, *Adhyāyas* 21, 106, 110, 122, 124, 125 etc.



came out successful from the long struggle.<sup>73</sup>

- (c) A new literary and religious tradition started under the Kuru-Pañcāla kings who attained great power.<sup>74</sup>
- (8) The minor Kuru-Pañcāla conflicts later were incorporated into the Bharata war by the poet.<sup>75</sup>
- (9) There was no disastrous Bharata war between Kurus and Pañcālas or Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas between the date of *Dāśarājña* and the close of Janamejaya Pāriṣita's reign.
- (10) When the war was concluded Janamejaya Pāriṣita was the king of Kuru-Pañcāla ruling at Āsandivant.
- (11) The fusion between the Aryans and the Dasyus

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73. OLDENBERG, *Buddha*, pp. 403-410 ; *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 167-169.

74. Cf. *Ait. Brā.*, VII. 27.34 ; VIII. 11,21-23 ; *Śat. Brā.*, I. 7.2.8 ; III. 2.3.15 ; etc, which portray the flourishing condition of the Kuru-Pañcālas. KEITH, *Rgveda Brā. Tr., Intr.*, p. 45 ; also, footnotes 8, 13, 40 *supra*.

75. Cf. also footnotes 47, 49, 50 and 55 above. The Bhārata war, as has been already stated, seems to be a curious combination of the different aspects of the *Dāśarājña* and other wars following it, including the wars of Paraśurāma. The background has been placed around fictitious ancestors of Janamejaya regardless of topography, chronology, etc. The *Mahābhārata*, again, is the product of different periods, many additions being comparatively recent ; hence the task of tracing the sources of the various stories should follow a critical edition showing all the chronological strata.

was complete and the Vedic society yielded place to the castes.<sup>76</sup>

- (12) That after the end of the wars, the Vedas were redacted and there is nothing to militate against the tradition that Vyāsa Pārāśarya, connected by his patronym with Parāśara the grandson of the Vasiṣṭha of the Vedic Battle was mainly responsible for this redaction.
- (13) That the period between the *Dāśarājña* and Janamejaya did not exceed about four or five generations or the full span of one long life like that of Rāma Jāmadagnya or Vyāsa Pārāśarya.

In the circumstances the genealogy of PARGITER may be stated more accurately as follows :

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76. Cf. *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 247-253 ; *Sat. Brā.*, V. 5.4.9 ; RAPSON, *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 86, 124-126.

चत्वारो वै वर्णाः । ब्राह्मणो राजन्यो वैश्यः शूद्रो न हैतेषामेकश्चन भवति  
यः सोमं वमति स यद्वैतेषामेकश्चित्स्याद्वैव प्रायश्चित्तिः । श. ब्रा.

## GENEALOGY

Tṛtsus (Bharatas?)	Pūrus	Bharatas (Jahnuṣ)	Ayodhyā	Śrījayas	Bhṛguṣ	Kāśīs
	Ikṣvāku					
Vadhryāśva	Durgaha	Kuśika	Ikṣvāku	Somaka	Ūrva	
Pijavana	Giriḷkṣit	Gādhin		Śrījaya (Vītahavya)	Rcika	Vasiṣṭha
Divodāsa	Purukutsa	Viśvāmītra	Vedhas		Jamadagni	Sakti
Sudās	Trasadasyu		Harīścandra	Kṛtvīrya	Parāśara	Parāśara
	Tridhanvā	Mitrātithi	Rohita		Parāśurāma	Vyāsa
	Trivṛṣṇa	Kuruśravāṇa				Rṣṭiṣeṇa
		Śunahṣēpa (Devarāṭa)				Vicitravīrya
Saudāsa	Tryaṇuṇa	Upamaśravas		Arjuna	Pārāśarya	Santanu
			Sagara			Dhṛtarāṣṭra
	Bharata	Dauhṣyanti (Kuru-Pañcālās)			Aurva	Agni
	Parikṣit					
	Janamejaya					

The historical events examined can thus be summarised :

Sometime between 1500 B.C. and 1000 B.C. the Aryans occupied a considerable part of India north of Narmadā. They were divided into tribes, of whom the most powerful in the north were Yadus and Pūrus. Possibly these and other allied tribes were called Bharatas.<sup>77</sup>

Among the Tr̥tsus arose king Divodāsa who destroyed the power of the Daśyu king, Śambara. The Dāsas like the Dasyus were a powerful race with fortresses and a civilisation, not quite dissimilar to those of the Aryans.<sup>78</sup>

From the Punjab upto the north Gujarāta lived the Haihaya-Tālajaṅgha confederacy of Aryan tribes.

There is no evidence to show that these Aryans were foreigners or that they immigrated into India within historical memory.<sup>79</sup> No doubt these races were differ-

77. Cf. *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 167-169 ; II, pp. 94-96 ; OLDENBERG, *Buddha*, pp. 408-410 ; RAPSON, *Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 120-123.

78. Cf. *R̥gveda*, I. 110.3 ; II. 20.8 ; III. 12.6 ; VI. 20.10 ; etc ; also, DAS, *R̥gvedic Culture*, pp. 152-160 ; RANGACHARYA, *Pre-Musalman India*, II, pp. 171-172.

इन्द्राग्नी नवति पुरो दासपत्नीरधूनुतं ।

साकमेकेन कर्मणा ॥ ऋ. ३.१२.६ ॥

तस्मै तवस्य १ मनु दायि सत्रेन्द्राय देवेभिरर्णसातौ ।

प्रति यदस्य वज्रं बाह्वोर्धुर्हत्वी दस्यून्पुर आयसीर्नि तारीत् ॥ ऋ. २.

२०.८ ॥

79. Cf. Dr. KEITH (*Cam. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 119-120, 123 ; *Vedic Index*, I, p. 169) who rightly observes that the Immigra-

(Continued on next page)

ent from other races living in several parts of the country ; whether the former came into the country as conquerors or were brought into contact with the latter by geological upheavals is difficult to decide.

About the same time that Divodāsa was extending his sway over the Dasyus in the north, Arjuna Kārtavīrya, the Haihaya chief, was founding an empire, the northern post of which extended upto the land of Seven Rivers (the Punjab). In the course of his conquests, he destroyed the Nāga settlement on the Narmadā and founded his capital Māhiṣmatī about the site of modern Broach.<sup>80</sup>

In the north Divodāsa's sceptre passed to Sudās, an ambitious conqueror who was advised and inspired in turn by two priest warriors : Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra. Sudās, aided by Vasiṣṭha declared war against the confederacy of ten kings some of whom were Dasyu kings. The Vitahavya-Srñjayas who formed part of the Haihaya-Tālajaṅgha confederacy sided with Sudās. Purukutsa aided by Viśvāmitra led the allied hosts. Jamadagni, the head of the Bhṛguś, the warrior priest of

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(Continued from previous page)

tion theory is not borne out by the *Samhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* ; also RANGACHARYA, *Pre-Musalmān India*, II, pp. 112-114. The officially accepted theory, however, is that propounded by Dr. HOERNLE and Sir G. GRIERSON stating that there were two waves of Aryans into India coming by different routes and at different times and that the Kurus were fresh immigrants who forced themselves like a wedge between the Aryans already settled. *Imp. Gaz.*, I, pp. 303, 357-359 ; *Languages of India*, p. 52. Cf ; also VAIDYA, *Hist. Sans. Lit.*, I, Part 1, pp. 91-98 ; *Pargiter*, pp. 295-297, 302, and his map.

80. *Supra*, Lecture III,

Anus and Druhyus<sup>81</sup> and even of the Haihayas—who was Viśvāmitra's comrade in arms and song<sup>82</sup> helped him.

The war was long and bitter. Purukutsa was imprisoned, perhaps killed, in its early stages. Their chief, Viśvāmitra, disappeared—perhaps in battle. Purukutsa's queen gave birth to a son, Trasadasyu. Purukutsa had a grandson, Kuruśravaṇa, who was also a doughty warrior for whom Kavaśa Ailūṣa, the sage, had sung a song. Round them were gathered the old allies in grim determination to fight the old foe. The Anus and Druhyus were perhaps led by the great Bhr̥gu Jamadagni. Viśvāmitra was dead and the Bharatas were inspired by his adopted son, originally of the Bhr̥gu clan : Śunaḥśepa Devarāta.<sup>83</sup> During this time the allied tribes had been fast losing their separate tribal form and becoming the Bharata people.

During a subsequent campaign Vasiṣṭha died ; and his son Śakti was captured and blinded.<sup>84</sup> Sudās was also dead or killed and his line had been extinct. The Sṛñjaya-Vitahavyas were however a powerful people. Their king Arjuna ran to the rescue of their ally and

81. Cf. *R̥gveda*, VII. 18.6. According to *Vedic Index* (I, p. 22 ; II, p. 109) this is doubtful.

पुरोळा इतुर्वशो यक्षुरासीद्राये मत्स्याशो निशिता अपीव ।

श्रुष्टिं चकुर्भृगवो दुह्यवश्च सखा सखायमतरद्विषूचोः ॥ ऋ. ७. १८. ६ ॥

82. *Supra*, Lecture IV, note 21, also notes 19 and 20.

83. Cf. *supra*, Lecture IV, notes 13, 21, 22, 23 for the whole paragraph.

विश्वामित्रात्मजानां तु शुनःशेषोऽग्रजः स्मृतः ।

भार्गवः कौशिकत्वं हि प्राप्तः स मुनिसत्तमः ॥ हरि. १. २७. ५४ ॥

84. Cf. *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 348-349.

destroyed the foes hip and thigh. The Haihayas of the south overran the sacred land. The Bhṛṅgas were butchered, their women raped, their leader Jamadagni killed, their wealth looted.<sup>85</sup>

Anus and Druhyus were slaughtered. Kavaśa Ailūṣa was drowned.<sup>86</sup> The *Āśramas* were sacked. The *Ṛṣis* fled for their very life ; and their literary traditions were cut short.

The ferocity of Arjuna Kārtavīrya and his sons turned even their friends in the north against him. The Bharatas, now a composite race made up of allied tribes, were led by Viśvāmitra's descendant, Duṣyanta's son himself named Bharata, and Kuruśravaṇa, the great grandson of Purukutsa. But above all these warriors towered the resplendent son of Jamadagni, thirsting for vengeance, anxious to destroy the savage hordes which had devastated his land and smothered its culture.

Rāma, leading the allied tribes, now almost one people, pursued the Haihayas. He killed Arjuna and laid Māhiṣmatī to waste. He went east and pushed back the enemies to the sea. And behind his triumphant arms marched the *Ṛṣis* carrying the memories of their lost land and the hymns which their fathers had sung.

The war was ceaseless and protracted. Royal lines were cut short ; tribes mixed freely, Aryan and non-Aryan ; new beliefs and rituals sprang up. The des-

<sup>85</sup>. *Supra*, Lecture II, Section V, and Lecture III, Section V.

<sup>86</sup>. Cf. *Rgveda*, VII. 18.12.

अथ श्रुतं कवषं वृद्धमस्त्वनु द्रुह्युं नि वृणवज्रबाहुः ।

वृणाना अत्र सख्याय सख्यं त्वायंतो ये अमदन्ननु त्वा ॥

cendants and disciples of the *R̥ṣis* kept alive old religious traditions and became a class ; and except for the lowest of the low, the people, the Vaiśyas, became fused in one, those trained to arms, the Rājanyas, being their protectors.

The royalty of the Bharatas was continued in Kuru's line ; the Bharatas became the Kuru-Pañcālas. The Bhr̥gus evidently set up kings in Śālva, Ayodhyā, Kānyakubja, Kāśī and Pañcāla.<sup>87</sup>

87. *Ṛcika*, a Bhr̥gu, got the kingdom of Śālva (*Mbh.*, XII. 234.33 ; XIII. 137.23) ; Sagara of Ayodhyā was installed by Aurva Bhārgava (*Vāyu*, II. 26, 126-143 ; *Padma*, VI. 21.19-35 ; *Hari*, I. 13.32-34 ; 14.7-21) ; Sunahśepa, the adopted son of Viśvāmitra, king of Kānyakubja, was a Bhārgava (cf. note 83, *supra*) ; Bhr̥gus also dominated in Kāśī (*Hari*, I. 29.82-83 ; 32.28, 39-40) and Pañcāla (*Matsya*, 50.14 ; *Hari*, I. 32.76).

‘ नाम्ना च युतिमान्नाम शाल्वराजः प्रतापवान् ।

दत्त्वा राज्यमृचीकाय गतो लोकाननुत्तमान् ॥ म.भा. १२.२३४.३३ ॥

सगरस्तु सुतो बाहोर्जज्ञे सह गरेण वै ।

भृगोराश्रममासाद्य तुर्वेण परिरक्षितः ॥ वायु. २.२६.१२२ ॥

आग्नेयमस्त्रं लब्ध्वा तु भार्गवात् सगरो नृपः ।

जघान पृथिवीं गत्वा तालजाङ्गान् सहैहयान् ॥ वायु. २.२६.१२३ ॥

वेणुहोत्रसुतश्चापि भर्गो नाम प्रजेश्वरः ।

वत्सस्य वत्सभूमिस्तु भृगुभूमिस्तु भार्गवात् ॥ हरि १.२९.८२ ॥

एते त्वङ्गिरसः पुत्रा जाता वंशेऽथ भार्गवे ।

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्यास्तयोः पुत्राः सहस्रशः ।

इत्येते काश्यः प्रोक्ता नहुषस्य निबोध मे ॥ हरि १.२९.८३ ॥

एते वंश्या यतेः पक्षाः क्षत्रोपेतास्तु भार्गवाः ।

राजा चैद्यवरो नाम मैत्रेयस्य सुतः स्मृतः ॥ मत्स्य. ५०.१४ ॥

मैत्रायणस्ततः सोमो मैत्रेयास्तु ततः स्मृताः ।

एते हि संश्रिताः पक्षं क्षत्रोपेतास्तु भार्गवाः ॥ हरि. १.३२.७६ ॥



The aged Rāma ultimately made Śūrparaka his home. When his power declined the Aryans had come to be established in large kingdoms. Then came a great king Janamejaya, the son of Parikṣit, a Cakravartin who performed an Aśvamedha. After him the Kuru-Pañcāla people met with a disaster and lost their glory.<sup>88</sup>

In the meantime tales about the great wars associated with Rāma had collected round several places and names and some great poet wove round Janamejaya's ancestors, real or imaginary, a great epic story in which names, pedigrees and exploits were displaced to suit the romantic theme. And the poem has held the imagination of India for centuries, lengthening out the distance between Sudās and Janamejaya to a fictitious length.

This is rather a bold inference and I would not be sorry if further examination reveals that I am mistaken.

Before I close, however, I have one appeal to make. The lines of our history so far have been laid down by foreign scholars who even in their most dispassionate mood have not outgrown an underlying bias against Indian achievements. The British having conquered India, they would have us believe that the Aryans came from outside. Modern Indians, according to them being politically backward, could not have built empires. Thus the immigration of Aryans is more often assumed

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88. Cf. *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 166-168 ; RAPSON, *Com. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 119-121 ; also, *Sāṅk. Śr. Sū.*, XV, 16.11 ; *Chāndogya Up.*, I. 10.1 ; IV. 17.9 ; and footnote 45 above.

मटचीहतेषु कुरुष्वटिक्या सह जाययोषस्तिर्ह चाक्रायण इभ्यग्रामे  
प्रद्राणक उवास ॥ छां. उ. १.१०.१ ॥

...मानवो ब्रह्मैवैक ऋत्विक्कुरुनश्वाभिरक्षत्येवंविद्ध वै ब्रह्मा  
यज्ञ यजमान सर्वाश्चात्विजोऽभिरक्षति... ॥ छां. उ. ४.१७.९ ॥

than critically examined. The history of the *Janapadas* is often ignored. The series of imperial conquerors from Manapadma Nanda to Śrī Harṣa covering a period about eleven centuries are dealt with as mere references to their dealings with foreign raiders than with their constructive period. The few hundred square miles which Muslim raiders occupied between the 8th and the 12th centuries is glorified as conquest of India. The Moghul rule at Delhi more often than not is described as foreign rule when it was supported by both Hindus and Muslims, and considerable parts of India which withstood Muslim conquests are ignored. And the British period is lengthened out so that a Viceroy assumes a larger proportion to Samudra Gupta.

But a time has come when our history must be examined and written by us from our own point of view, from the point of view of our development and culture, our literature and art, our achievements. Our national history awaits to be written, and a Nation which seeks self-realization must undertake the work.

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## INDICES

[The author takes this opportunity of thanking Shri A. D. PUSALKER, M.A., for preparing these Indices.]

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